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STUDIES IN EMPIRE AND TRADE

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STUDIES IN EMPIRE AND TRADE

BY

J. W. JEUDWINE

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'There is nothing too hard for courageous minds which hitherto you have shewn, and I doubt will still do to the uttermost of your power.'

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WITH FOUR MAPS AND GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

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PREFATORY NOTE

This book is the final result of some ten years of study, research, and collection of materials in a very wide field. I regret that time and space forbade me reaching the Napoleonic efforts to recover India for France by way of Egypt, a passage of history illuminating present conditions in the East. I gratefully acknowledge the permission granted by Lady Butler to insert the striking account of a simoon from Sir William Butler's Autobiography, and by Mr. R. H. Tawney to use the passages on the social influence of the Christian Church from his "Acquisitive Society." A subject such as this, for which the authorities both original and secondary are very numerous, leaves me also with a deep sense of obligation to very many writers of the past both for preservation of facts and for commentary. In the course of collection of my materials I may have lost or mislaid some of my references; but I have referred as far as possible to works likely to be at the service of the general reader.

The series of maps by Mr. H. W. Cribb, F.R.G.S., which illustrate the events told, are accompanied by a special atlas index intended to obviate the need for consulting an outside atlas.

Some unimaginative person in brief authority has, I believe, recently laid down that young people should not read fairy stories. Fairy stories, whether they treat of Sindbad's voyages, or the idyll of Beauty and the Beast, or the final victory of Cinderella, generally embody some yearning of humanity for a higher ideal, or illuminate some great achievement of courage and endurance. They are tales of the conquest of evil in man and nature by the spirit of courage, self-denial, and patience, illustrating that "there

is a soul of goodness in things evil, would men observingly distil it out." If young people are to be forbidden the genuine fairy tale, I urge parents to encourage the reading of some of the books which I have quoted, such as the Norse Sagas, Major's "Henry the Navigator," the whole series of the publications of the Hakluyt Society, Hannay's "Sea Trader," and others like them. And with them read of the defence of Rorke's Drift, of Willoughby at Delhi, of the retreat from Mons in 1914. All such histories from Herodotus onwards have in their lives been labelled as fairy stories by the man without imagination or humour; and they are such so far as we fail to measure the limits of language or to distinguish the certainly true from the questionably false, whether the apostle appeared to Cortes' army in Mexico or angels to ours in France. But they are the records of supreme courage and self-sacrifice, the biographies of "men who have died for men in all ages," and as such the most fitting food for young minds.

J. W. JEUDWINE.

4th December 1922.

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R. Ob
R. Lena
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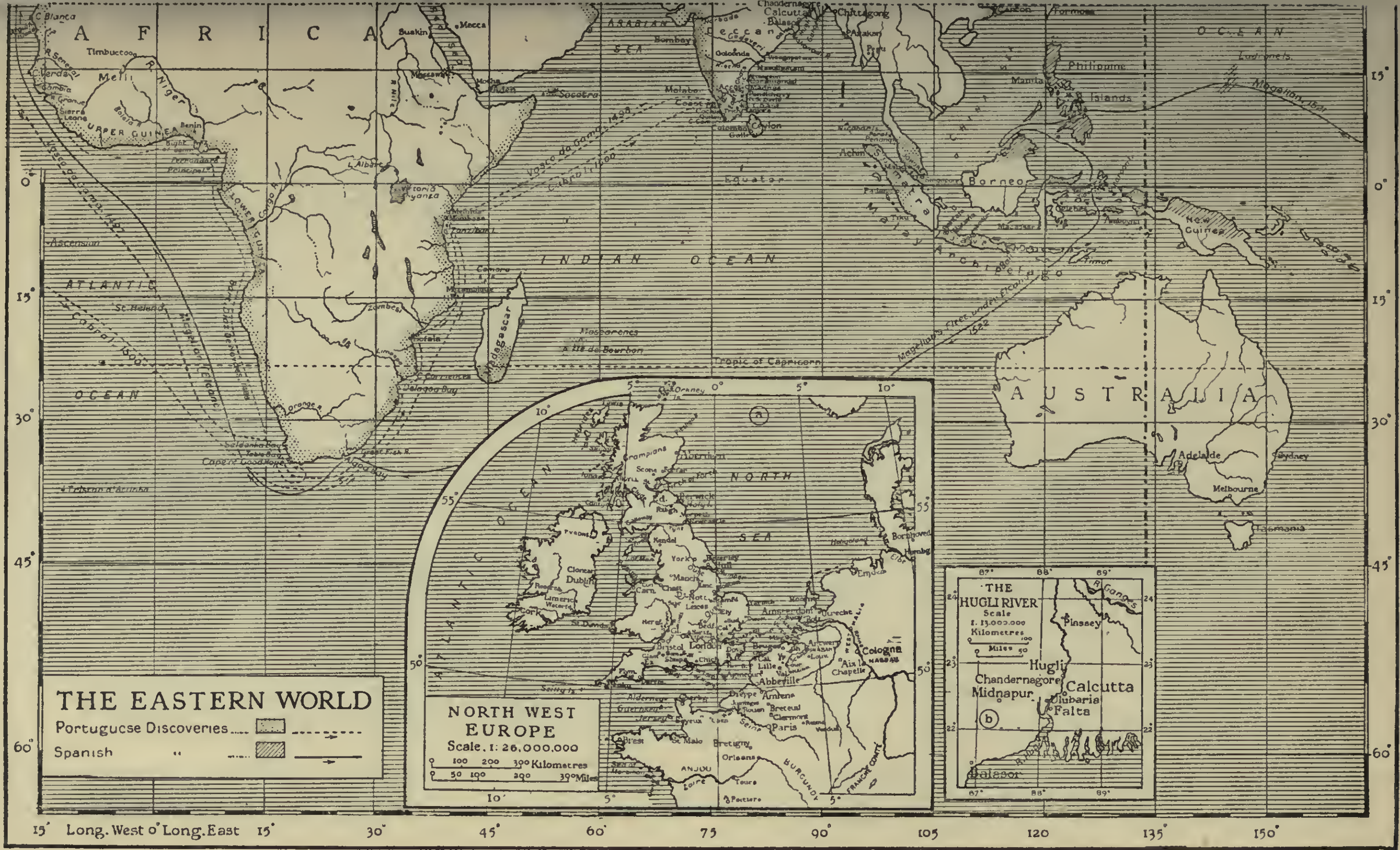
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
Bergen
NORTH SEA
Moscow
Narva
Vistula
SILESIA
BOHEMIA
Teschen
BAVARIA
Paris
Boulogne
St. Omer
Troyes
Brest
Milan
Madrid
Burgos
Lisbon
Barcelona
BISCAY
EUROPE
ASIA
Irkutsk
Lake Baikal
Kyakhta
Gobi Desert
TURKESTAN
ARAL SEA
Syr Daria
Amu Daria
Balkash
Volga
Ural
BLACK SEA
R. Danube
Sicily
Tunis
Carthage
Tripoli
Cairo
Suez
R. Nile
Medina
R. Tigris
R. Euphrates
Delhi
Indus
Benares
ASSAM
BEHAR
Peking
Hoangho
Nanking
Shanghai
Amoy
Yangtse Kiang
SEA OF JAPAN
PACIFIC
C. Bojador
Tropic of Cancer
Canary Is.
Madeira
1492 Columbus
Columbus 1504


THE EASTERN WORLD
Portuguese Discoveries
Spanish
NORTH WEST EUROPE
Scale. 1: 26,000,000
100 200 300 Kilometres
50 100 200 300 Miles
THE HUGLI RIVER
Scale
Kilometres
Miles
Hugli
Chandernagore
Calcutta
Midnapur
Ulubaria
Falta
Balasor
AFRICA
ARABIAN SEA
INDIAN OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
AUSTRALIA
Borneo
New Guinea
Madagascar
Philippine Islands
Equator
Tropic of Capricorn
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Long. West 0° Long. East

ATLAS INDEX TO MAPS
AND PLACES MENTIONED IN BOOK

Those places marked by an Asterisk (*) are omitted from Maps for want of space

MAP.		LAT.	LONG.
IA	Abbeville . .	50·6N	1·48E
IA	Aberdeen . .	57·8N	2·6W
IV	Acapulco . .	17·0N	99·51W
I	Achin . . .	5·35N	95·24E
III	Acre . . .	32·51N	35·5E
I	Adelaide . .	34·54S	138·38E
I, III	Aden . . .	12·46N	45·10E
I	Agen . . .	44·13N	0·30E
IA	Agincourt . .	50·27N	2·8E
I	Agra . . .	27·9N	77·58E
III	Ahmadabad .	23·51N	72·39E
IA	Aix-la-Chapelle	50·54N	6·5E
II	Albany, N.Y. .	40·38N	72·47W
IA	Alderney I. .	19·42N	2·12W
III	Aleppo . . .	36·12N	37·9E
III	Alexandria .	31·10N	29·55E
I	Algoa Bay . .	33·50S	26·0E
IVB, C, I	Amalfi . . .	40·35N	14·37E
II, IV	Amazon R. .	0·7S	49·45W
I	Amboyna . .	4·0S	128·0E
*	Amesbury . .	51·1N	11·46W
I	Amiens . . .	49·53N	2·19E
I	Amoy . . .	24·28N	118·13E
III	Amritsar . .	31·45N	75·3E
IA	Amsterdam .	52·23N	4·53E
III	Andejan . .	42·0N	72·50E
IV	Andes Mts. .	11·05S	75·0W
IVB, C	Angola . . .	9·0S	13·18E
IA	Anjou . . .	47·25N	0·70W
II	Annapolis (*see* Port Royal)	44·41N	63·32W
III	Antioch . .	36·11N	36·10E
IA	Antwerp . .	51·14N	4·22E
I	Apulia . . .	41·5N	16·15E
I	Aquitaine . .	46·0N	1·0E
I	Aragon . . .	41·29N	1·26W
I	Arakan . . .	20·40N	93·25E
III	Archangel . .	64·32N	40·40E
I	Arcot . . .	12·53N	79·20E
I	Arguin I. . .	20·3N	16·30W
IA	Argyll . . .	56·14N	5·22W
I	Armagaon . .	13·53N	80·12E
III	Armenia . .	40·0N	42·40E
I	Ascension I. .	18·45S	1·45W
I	Assam . . .	26·30N	92·0E
II	Assiniboine R.	50·0N	97·0W
III	Astrachan . .	48·18N	48·5E
I	Asturias . .	43·19N	5·49W
I	Auvergne . .	45·30N	2·50E
II	Azores . . .	36·30N	26·0W
III	Babylon . .	32·32N	31·14E
II	Baffin's Bay .	73·0N	67·0N
III	Baghdad . .	34·20N	44·25E
II, IV	Bahama Is. .	26·35N	78·25W
III	Baku . . .	40·33N	49·35E
I, IB	Balasor . .	21·35N	86·50E
I	Bali . . .	8·30S	115·10E
III	Balkan Mts. .	31·40N	27·48E
I, III	Baltic Sea . .	57·30N	19·0E
III	Bankot . . .	17·53N	73·20E
I	Bantam . .	6·3S	106·16E
I	Barbary . .	33·0N	4·0E
I	Barcelona . .	41·22N	2·9E
III	Baroda . . .	22·10N	73·10E
I	Batavia . .	6·7S	106·50E
I	Bavaria . .	47·20N	8·54E
IA	Bayeux . .	49·16N	0·42W
I	Bayonne . .	43·30N	1·29W
I	Bazas . . .	44·26N	0·13W
IA	Beaumaris . .	53·16N	4·0W
IA	Bedford . .	52·8N	0·29W
I	Behar . . .	25·8N	45·3E
I	Benares . .	25·23N	83·5E
I	Benin . . .	7·0N	6·5E
I	Benin, Bight of	5·30N	3·0E
I	Bergen . . .	51·20N	6·2E
I	Bergerac . .	44·51N	0·27E
II	Bermuda I. .	32·15N	64·30W
IA	Berwick . .	55·46N	2·0W
IA	Beverley . .	53·51N	0·27W
III	Bijagarh . .	21·36N	75·30E
III	Bijapur . .	16·49N	75·47E
I	Biscay . . .	43·13N	2·57W
I	Bohemia . .	49·49N	14·24E

MAP.		LAT.	LONG.
III	Bokhara	39·47N	64·25E
I	Bolola R.	11·50N	1·14W
I, III	Bombay I.	18·55N	72·52E
I	Bordeaux	14·50N	0·37W
I	Borneo	4·40N	115·15E
IA	Bornhoved	54·4N	10·14E
I	Borobodur	7·46S	110·6E
III	Bosphorus	41·7N	29·5E
IA	Boston, Eng.	53·0N	0·2W
II	Boston, Mass.	42·41N	71·1W
I, IA	Boulogne	50·44N	1·36E
I	Bourbon, Ile de	21·30S	55·30E
IA	Brabant	51·0N	5·0E
I, IA	Brest	48·22N	4·32W
I	Breteuil	49·37N	2·18E
IA	Bretigny	48·22N	1·32E
IA	Bristol	51·28N	2·34W
IA	Bruges	51·12N	3·13E
I	Brunswick	52·15N	10·32E
*	Burdwan	23·30N	87·32E
I	Burgos	41·21N	3·43W
IA	Burgundy	47·0N	4·40E
III	Cabul	33·11N	35·23E
I	Cadiz	36·30N	6·18W
IA	Caen	19·12N	0·21W
I, III	Cairo	44·28N	8·30E
IA	Calais	50·58N	1·54E
I, IB	Calcutta	52·41N	88·27E
II	Calgary	50·54N	114·0W
I, III	Calicut	11·11N	75·52E
III	Cambay	22·20N	72·38E
IA	Cambuskenneth (*see* Stirling)	56·8N	3·53W
IV	Campeachy	19·52N	90·31W
III	Cannanore	11·52N	75·25E
I	Canton	23·3N	113·20E
IA	Cantyre	55·19N	5·46W
I, IVB	Cape Blanco	20·50N	17·10W
I, IVB	Cape Bojador	26·10N	14·31W
IV	Cape Catoche	21·32N	87·0W
I	Cape Comorin	8·2N	77·33E
I	Cape Corrientes	24·50S	35·0E
I, IVB, IVC	Cape of Good Hope	34·28S	16·25E
II	Cape Horn	55·50S	67·5W
I, IVB	Cape Nun	28·22N	11·2W
I	Cape St. Vincent	37·1N	9·0W
I, IVB	Cape Verde	14·45N	17·40W
I	Carinthia	46·50N	14·0E
IA	Carnarvon	53·9N	4·16W
I	Carnatic	13·0N	79·0E
I	Carthage	36·47N	10·15E
III	Casbin	36·10N	49·52E
I	Castile	41·30N	3·30W
I	Catalonia	41·40N	1·46E
III	Caucasus Mts.	44·44N / 40·29N	37·10E / 40·48E
IV	Caxamalca (Cajamarca)	7·4S	78·30W
IV	Caxas	5·10S	79.0W
IV	Cempoalla	19·30N	96·50W
IVA	Chalco (*see* Mexico City)		
III	Chanderi	24·37N	78.11E
I, IB	Chandernagore	22·50N	88·27E
IVA	Chapultepec (*see* Mexico City)	19·25N	99·5W
IA	Cherbourg	49·38N	1·38W
IA	Chester	53·11N	2·54W
IA	Chichester	50·51N	0·47W
IV	Chira R.	4·50S	81·8W
III	Chitor	25·10N	74·43E
I	Chittagong	22·21N	91·50E
IV	Cholula	19·0N	98·20W
IV	Cinnamon Land	1·0S	76·0W
IA	Clermont	49·23N	2·25E
IA	Clontarf	53·17N	6·12W
IA	Clyde R.	55·56N	4·32W
I	Cochin	9·50N	76·18E
*	Cola *or* Kolar	13·8N	78·10E
IA	Colchester	51·53N	0·53E
III	Colmogro (Cholmoghory)	64·16N	41·29E
IA	Cologne	50·55N	6·56E
I	Colombo	6·58N	79·54E
III	Conanor	12·34N	76·5E
II	Conception Bay	47·30N	53·0W
I	Congo R.	6·0S	12·50E
IVB, C, III	Constantinople	41·5N	29·0E
IA	Conway	53·16N	7·41W
I	Copenhagen	55·41N	12·31E
IV	Cordilleras Mts.	11·40S	62·0W
I	Cordova	37·53N	4·45W
IA	Cork	51·35N	8·36W
I	Coromandel Coast	13·0N	80·30E
I	Corunna	43·22N	9·20W
IA	Cotswolds	51·50N	2·0W
IA	Courtrai	50·48N	3·16E
IVA	Coyoacan (*see* Mexico City)		
*	Culpas	22·12N	88·25E
II	Cumberland Sound	64·4N	65·0W
IV	Cuzco	13·30S	71·20W

Islands,

MAP.		LAT.	LONG.
II	Canary Is.	28·20N	18·0W
II	Cape Breton	46·15N	61·0W
I	Ceylon	7·40N	81·0E
II	Charlton I.	52·0N	79·40W
IV	Claudie (*see* Pueblos Is.)		
I	Comoro	11·30S	43·30E
IV	Cozumel	20·25N	86·25W
I	Crete	35·15N	25·0E
IV	Cuba	19·50N	78·85W
III	Cyprus	35·0N	33·0E

MAP.		LAT.	LONG.
III	Dabul	17·30N	73·13E
I	Dacca	23·45N	90·23W
III	Daman	20·23N	72·32E
III	Dantzic	54·22N	18·39E
III	Dardanelles	40·15N	26·30E
IV	Darien	8·28N	77·59W

THE WESTERN WORLD
Portuguese Discoveries
Spanish
For Expeditions of Cortes, Pizarro and Almagro see Plate IV
ARCTIC OCEAN
Arctic Circle
ASIA
GREENLAND
Iceland
Baffin's Bay
Davis Strait
Hudson Strait
Hudson Bay
Approximate Spanish-Portuguese Line of Partition 1494
HUDSON BAY
TERRITORY
Lake Winnipeg
Lake Superior
Quebec
Montreal
Albany
New Amsterdam (New York)
Jamestown
St Augustine
Newfoundland
Conception Bay
St. John's
Nova Scotia
Sable I.
Bermuda I.
NORTH AMERICA
ATLANTIC
Azores
Madeira
Canary Islands
PACIFIC
San Francisco
Red R.
Mississippi
Bahama
165° 180° 165° 150° 135° 120° 105 90° 75° 60° 45° 30° 15°
75° 70° 60° 45° 30°

O C E A N
Equator
Magellan 1521
Tropic of Capricorn
NEW ZEALAND
SOUTH AMERICA
GUIANA
Amazon
R. Oyapok
G. of Guayaquil
Lima
L. Titicaca
PARAGUAY
Pernambuco
Rio de Janeiro
Rio de la Plata
St. Matthew's Bay
St. George's Bay
Port St. Julian
Falkland Is.
Straits of Magellan
C. Horn
Cabral 1500
Magellan 1519
Vespucci 1501
Cape Verde Islands
Columbus 1493
Columbus 1498
Col. 1502
Trinidad
Mexico
Islands
15°
0°
15°
30°
45°
60°
165°
180°
165°
150°
135°
120° Longitude W. 105° of Greenwich 90°
75°
60°
45°
30°
15°

MAP.		LAT.	LONG.
IA	Dartmouth .	30·22N	3·34W
II	Davis Strt. .	67·0N	58·0W
III	Deccan . . .	14·0N	77·0E
I	Delagoa Bay .	26·10S	32·45E
I, III	Delhi . . .	28·45N	77·20E
III	Derbend . .	42·0N	48·15E
IA	Derby . . .	52·56N	1·29W
IA	Dieppe . . .	49·56N	1·5E
III	Diu I. . . .	20·43N	70·48E
III	Dnieper R. .	46·40N	33·0E
I	Douro R. . .	41·7N	8·37W
IA	Dover . . .	51·7N	1·18E
I	Drontheim . .	63·25N	10·23E
IA	Dublin . . .	53·23N	6·20W
IA	Dunfermline .	56·6N	3·24W
IA	Dunwich . .	56·17N	1·38E
I	Durazzo . .	44·18N	19·30E
III	Dwina R. . .	56·20N	26·12E
III	Edessa . . .	37·9N	38·50E
IA	Edinburgh . .	55·52N	3·15W
IA	Elbe R. . .	53·54N	8·55E
IV	Eldorado . .	3·50S	59·0W
IA	Ely	52·24N	0·15E
IA	Emden . . .	53·22N	7·12E
III	Epheaus . .	37·57N	27·23E
I	Estramadura .	39·0N	8·40W
I, III	Euphrates R. .	34·30N	41·30E
IA	Exeter . . .	50·43N	3·31W
II	Falkland Is. .	52·0S	60·0W
IA	Falmouth . .	50·9N	5·4W
I	Faroe I. . .	62·10N	7·0W
III	Ferghana . .	41·0N	72·0E
I	Finisterre . .	42·53N	9·20W
III	Finland, Gulf of	60·0N	27·0E
IA	Firth of Forth .	56·7N	2·50W
I	Florence . .	43·47N	11·14E
IA	Folkestone . .	51·5N	1·11E
I	Foochow . .	26·7N	119·18E
I	Formosa . .	23·30N	121·0E
II	Fort Bourbon .	51·20N	80·30W
II	Fort Charles .	51·30N	78·80W
II	Fort Duquesne	40·30N	79·55W
I	Fort St. David.	11·42N	79·45E
I	Fort St. George (*see* Madras)		
II	Fort William Henry	43·10N	73·30W
IA	Franche Comté (France)	47·0N	6·0E
IB	Fulta . . .	22·20N	88·12E
I	Gaeta . . .	41·13N	13·35E
I	Gallé . . .	6·1N	80·15E
*	Gallo I. . .	2·0S	82.0W
IA	Galloway . .	55·0N	4·15W
I	Gambia R. .	13·0N	13·0W
*	Gandegama R..		
I	Ganges R. . .	25·40N	81·50E
I	Genoa . . .	44·23N	8·55E
I	Ghats, The Eastern	15·0N	79·0E
III	Ghats, The Western		
III	Ghazni . . .	33·44N	68·18E
IA	Ghent . . .	51·2N	3·44E
III	Gheria . . .	17·30N	73·10E
I	Gibraltar . .	36·8N	5·21W
II	Gilbert River .	52·40N	56·0W
IA	Glastonbury .	51·9N	2·33W
IA	Gloucester . .	51·45N	2·30W
III	Goa	15·30N	73·50E
I	Gobi Desert .	43·0N	110·0E
I	Golconda . .	17·25N	78·22E
IVB, C	Gold Coast .	5·30N	2·0W
II	Goree . . .	20·40N	17·20W
III	Gothland I. .	57·30N	18·30E
*	Goutz . . .	45·24N	0·21E
I	Govindpur . .	23·51N	86·34E
IA	Grampian Mts..	56·30N	4·30W
I	Granada . .	37·13N	3·41W
IA	Gravelines . .	30·59N	2·10E
*	Gravesend . .	51·27N	0·22E
I	Great Fish R. .	33·24S	27·0E
IA	Greenwich . .	51·28N	0·0
IV	Guatemala . .	16·0N	90·30W
IV	Guayaquil, Gulf of	3·0S	8·10W
IA	Guernsey . .	49·27N	2·35W
IV	Guiana . . .	4·40N	60·0W
I	Guinea . . .	7·0N	2·0W
III	Gujerat . .	22·20N	11·0E
III	Gwalior . .	26·20N	78·7E
IA	Hainault . .	50·30N	4·0E
II	Halifax, N.S. .	44·39N	63·30W
IA	Hamburg . .	53·33N	10·0E
IA	Hastings . .	50·52N	0·36E
IV	Havana . .	23·10N	82·22W
II	Hayes R. (Peninsula)	68·0N	96·0W
IA	Hebrides I. .	57·45N	6·50W
III	Hejaz . . .	25·0N	38·0E
IA	Heligoland . .	54·11N	7·53E
IA	Hereford . .	52·10N	2·45W
IA	Hertford . .	51·48N	0·15W
*	Higili . . .	21·45N	87·35E
III	Himalaya Mts..	29·30N	82·30E
III	Hindu Koosh Mts.	35·50N	70·30E
I	Hoangho R. .	37·0N	117·0E
IA	Holy I. . . .	55·42N	1·48W
IV	Honduras . .	13·17N	83·90W
IA	Hoorn . . .	52·36N	5·4E
I	Hordaland . .	63·0N	7·0E
II	Hudson Bay .	60·0N	87·0W
II	Hudson R. .	41·50N	72·58W
II	Hudson Str. .	61·30N	69·0W
IB	Hugli R. . .	31·40N	87·50E
IB	Hugli Town .	23·0N	88·30E
IA	Hull . . .	53·45N	0·20W
IA	Humber R.. .	53·33N	0·5W
I, III	Indus R. . .	6·0N	68·0E
IA	Iona I. . . .	56·19N	6·28W

MAP.		LAT.	LONG.
IV	Isla des Perles (Pearl Is.)	8·30N	78·50W
III	Ivangorod	51·47N	21·54E
IVA	Iztapalapa (*see* Mexico City)		
III	Jaipur	20·50N	86·30E
IV	Jamaica	18·20N	77·30W
II	Jamestown		
I	Japan	38·0N	140·0E
I	Java I.	7·30S	110·0E
IA	Jersey I.	49·14N	20·7W
III	Jerusalem	31·47N	35·14E
I	Johore	1·45N	103·50E
III	Jordan R.	32·0N	35·35E
IA	Jumieges	40·30N	0·60E
III	Kaffa	45·2N	35·11E
III	Karachi	24·53N	66·27E
III	Kazan	55·47N	49·3E
IA	Kendal	54·19N	2·46W
III	Khorassan	35·0N	56·0E
III	Khyber Pass	34·14N	71·0E
III	Kokan (Ferghana)	40·20N	70·20E
II	La Chine	45·28N	73·40W
III	Laccadive Is.	11·20N	72·30E
I	Ladrone Is.	16·0N	45·0E
I	Lake Albert	145·0N	29·45E
II	Lake Champlain	44·20N	73·20W
II	Lake Erie	42·10N	81·0W
II	Lake Manitoba	51·0N	98·40W
II	Lake Superior	47·40N	88·0W
I	Lake Victoria Nyanza	1·0S	34·0E
II	Lake Winnipeg	53·0N	98·0W
*	Lea R.	51·36N	0·2W
IA	Leicester	52·39N	1·8W
I	Leon	42·38N	5·30W
III	Levant	34·0N	35·0E
IA	Lewis I.	38·10N	6·35W
*	Liffey R.	53·22N	6·27W
IA	Lille	50·38N	3·1E
IA	Limerick	52·39N	8·36W
IA	Lincoln	53·14N	0·33W
I	Lisbon	38·42N	9·8W
III	Lithuania	55·0N	25·0E
III	Livonia	57·20N	25·50E
IA	Loire R.	49·18N	2·12E
IA	London	51·32N	0·5W
II	Louisbourg	46·0N	60·2W
IA	Louvain	50·53N	4·41E
*	Lubeck	53·51N	10·40E
I	Macao I. (*see* Canton)	22·11N	113·30E
I	Macassar	5·20S	119·28E
I	Madagascar	20·0S	47·0E
II	Madeira I.	32·3N	17·0W
I	Madras	13·4N	80·15E
II	Magellan, Strts. of	53·0S	74·0W
I	Mahanadi R.	20·15N	86·0E
III	Malabar Coast	12·0N	74·0E
I	Malacca	2·10N	102·14E
I	Malay Archip.	2·0N	104·0E
III	Maldive Is.	5·0N	73·30E
I	Malta I.	35·53N	14·27E
III	Malwa or Mandu	24·0N	75·0E
IA	Man, I. of	54·15N	4·30W
IA	Manchester	53·29N	2·14W
I	Manila	14·34N	120·58E
IV	Maranon R.	8·0S	77·12W
*	Marathon	38·7N	23·55E
I	Marseilles	43·17N	5·22E
I	Masulipatam	16·10N	81·10E
*	May I.	56·11N	2·33W
*	Meaux	48·57N	2·52E
III	Mecca	21·21N	40·11E
I	Melbourne	37·49S	144·59E
I	Melinda	2·60S	31·0E
I	Melli	0·14N	0·7W
IV, IVA	Mexico City	19·25N	99·5W
IV	Mexico, Gulf of	25·0N	90·0W
IA	Middelburg	51·34N	3·35E
IB	Midnapur	22·27N	87·6E
I	Milan	45·27N	9·11E
I	Minorca I.	39·50N	4·0E
II	Mississippi R.	33·45N	91·0W
III	Mocha	13·10N	43·20E
*	Moissac	44·7N	1·7E
I	Molucca Is.	0·0	127·30E
I	Mombasa	4·3S	39·39E
IV	Mona I.	18·5N	67·57W
II	Montreal	45·31N	73·35W
IA	Morbihan Sea of (Prov. of)	47·50N	2·40W
IA	Morpeth	55·11N	1·40
III	Moscow	55·42N	37·39E
III	Mosul	36·19N	43·9E
I	Mozambique	15·2S	40·48E
III	Multan	30·13N	71·26E
I	Murcia (Spain)	57·45N	1·30W
III	Mysore	12·18N	76·40E
I	Nankin	32·3N	118·53E
I	Naples	48·9N	11·33E
IV	Napo R.	2·30S	73·10W
III	Narbada R.	21·36N	72·36E
I	Narva	59·22N	28·6E
	Nassau (Ger.)	50·18N	7·46E
II	Nassau (Bahama Is.)	25·2N	77·25W
IVc	Natal	29·0S	20·30E
IA	Newcastle-on-Tyne	54·58N	1·37W
II	Newfoundland	49·0N	56·0W
IA	Newhaven	50·47N	0·2E
II	New York	41·6N	74·0W
IV	Nicaragua	12·0N	85·0W
I	Nicobar Is.	8·0N	93·0E
I, III	Nile R.	30·54N	30·49E
I	Ningpo	29·42N	121·21E
IA	Nottingham	53·5N	1·0W
II	Nova Scotia	45·0N	63·0W
I	Nova Zembla	71·0N	55·0E
III	Novgorod	58·36N	31·17E

TRADE ROUTES
TO THE EAST
Scale, 1:26,000,000
Kilometres
English Miles
Trade Routes
White Sea
Archangel
Colmogro
R. Dwina
St Petersburg
Novgorod
Vologda
Gulf of Finland
LIVONIA
POMERANIA
Dantzic
R. Vistula
LITHUANIA
Moscow
Vladimir
R. Volga
Kazan
Ivangorod
R. Pripet
POLAND
EUROPE
RUSSIA
R. Dnieper
R. Bug
R. Dniester
R. Pruth
R. Don
R. Danube
Balkan Mts
Dardanelles
CRIMEA
Kaffa
Constantinople
Bosporus
BLACK SEA
Caucasus Mts
Astrachan
R. Ural
CASPIAN SEA
Derbend
Baku
Poti
Tiflis
Trebizond
Smyrna
Ephesus
ASIA MINOR
Konia
Tarsus
Rhodes
Cyprus
Antioch
Aleppo
Edessa
Armenia
Western Euphrates
Eastern Euphrates
Tabriz
Astarabad
ARAL SEA
Amu Daria (Oxus)
Sirr R. (Sur Daria)
(Jaxartes)
Kingdom of Baber
FERGHANA
Kokan
Andejan
Samarcand
Kashgar
Bokhara
BOKHARA
Merv
Balkh
Hindu Kush Mts
Him
Indus
To Kyakhta
TURKESTAN
ASIA
SIBERIA

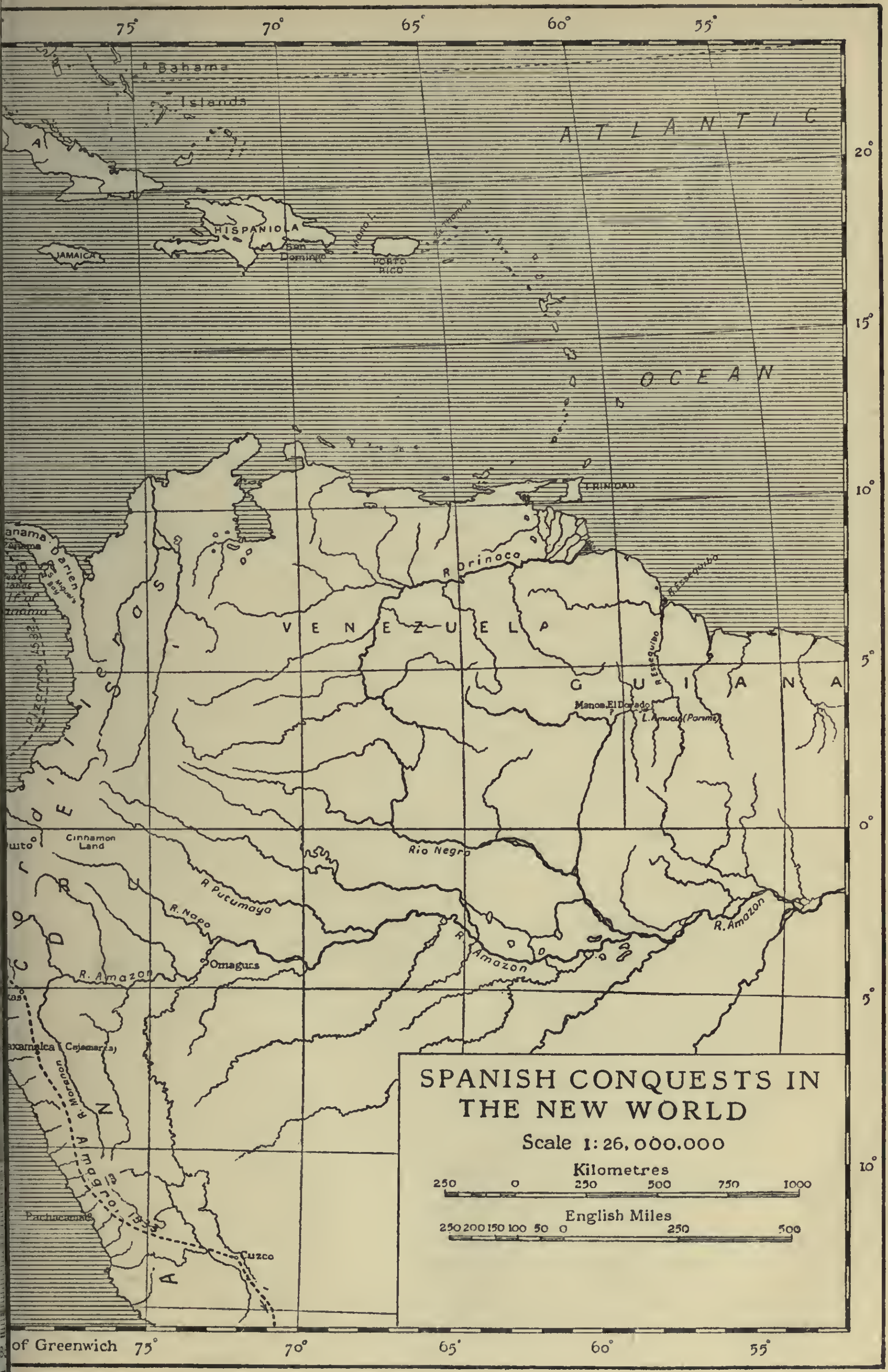
Damascus
Jerusalem
Ascalon
Dead Sea
SYRIA
Cairo
Suez
EGYPT
R. Nile
G. of Suez
G. of Akaba
HEJAZ
RED SEA
AFRICA
Suakin
Jidda
Mecca
Medina
Babylon
Baghdad
R. Tigris
R. Euphrates
Basra
ARABIA
Persian Gulf
Tropic of Cancer
Ormuz I.
Muscat
Gulf of Oman
Mocha
Aden
Gulf of Aden
Socotra
KHORASSAN
Herat
Hari Rud
Farah
Zereni
Kandahar
Ghazni
R. Indus
R. Jhelum
R. Chenab
R. Ravi
R. Sutlej
R. Beas
Amritsar
PUNJAB
Multan
Panipat
Delhi
R. Jumna
R. Ganges
OUDH
HINDUSTAN
INDIA
Jaipur
Chitor
Malwa
Gwalior
Chanderi
Karachi
Ahmadabad
Cambay
Baroda
R. Narbada
Bijagarh
R. Tapti
Surat
Diu I.
Daman
R. Godaveri
Bombay
Bankot
Debul
Western Ghats
Bijapur
R. Kistna
DECCAN
Gheria
Goa
Malabar Coast
Mysore
Cannanore
MALABAR
Calicut
Laccadive Islands
Maldive Islands
ARABIAN GULF
INDIAN OCEAN
30°
20°
10°
40°
50°
70°
Longitude East 60° of Greenwich

MAP.		LAT.	LONG.
II	Old Point Comfort		
IA	Old Sarum and Salisbury	51·4N	1·48W
I	Oleron I. . .	45·57N	1·15W
IV	Omaguas . .	4·3S	73·20W
I	Orange . . .	44·7N	4·49E
I	Orange Is. . .	76·0N	75·0E
I	Orissa . . .	21·17N	85·30E
I	Orkney Is. . .	59·0N	3·0W
I, IA	Orleans . .	47·54N	1·55E
III	Ormuz I. . .	27·3N	56·26E
II	Ottawa . . .	45·20N	75·43W
III	Oude . . .	28·0N	80·0E
IA	Ouse R. (Yorks)	52·43N	0·24W
IA	Ouse, Great .	52·20N	0·21E
*	Oviedo . . .	43·22N	5·52W
IA	Oxford . . .	51·46N	1·16W
II	Oyapok R. .	4·25N	51·35W
IV	Pachacamac .	12·15S	77·0W
I	Padang . .	0·52S	100·24E
I	Palatinate, The	49·30N	7·50E
IV	Panama . .	8·59N	79·32W
IV	Panama, Isthmus of	9·10N	79·0W
III	Panipat . .	29·24N	76·57E
II	Paraguay . .	24·0S	56·0W
IA	Paris . . .	48·50N	2·20E
I	Patna . . .	25·33N	95·11E
I	Pegu . . .	17·26N	96·18E
I	Pekin . . .	39·53N	116·29E
I	Penang I. . .	5·18N	100·4E
II	Penobscot Bay .	44·27N	68·43W
I	Pera I. (Malay Archip.)	5·50N	98·52E
II	Pernambuco .	8·0S	35·53W
I, III	Persian Gulf .	28·5N	50·0E
I	Philippine Is. .	13·0N	125·0E
I	Pisa . . .	43·43N	10·23E
IA	Pitsligo Bay .	57·42N	2·7W
II	Pittsburg . .	40·30N	79·55W
I	Plassey . . .	23·46N	88·11E
*	Plataea . .		
IA	Plymouth . .	50·22N	4·9W
IA	Poitiers . .	46·34N	0·22E
III	Pomerania . .	53·50N	15·0E
I	Pondicherry .	11·56N	79·48E
IV	Popocatapetl .	18·59N	98·33W
I	Port Melinda .	3·28S	39·53E
II	Port Royal .	42·38N	80·30W
II	Port St. Julian	49·0S	67·32W
IV	Porto Rico I. .	18·18N	66·30W
II	Porto Santo I. (see Madeira)	33·8N	16·24W
IA	Portsmouth .	50·48N	1·6W
II	Potomac R. .	38·10N	77·0W
II	Prince Edward I.	46·35N	63·30W
I	Principe I. . .	1·35N	7·26E
IV	Pueblos I. . .	23·0N	97·40W
I	Pularoon I. (one of Banda Is.)	4·30S	130·0E
IV	Puna, *or* Santiago I.	2·45S	80·10W
III	Punjab . . .	31·25N	72·30E
IV	Putumayo . .	1·0S	74·0W
II	Quebec . . .	46·48N	71·12W
IA	Queenborough	51·25N	0·44E
IA	Quiberon Bay .	47·30N	3·7W
I	Quilon . . .	8·52N	76·37E
IV	Quito . . .	0·15S	78·45W
II	Red River . .	49·0N	97·0W
I, III	Red Sea . .	24·0N	38·0E
I	Rhine R. . .	51·45N	6·20E
III	Rhodes I. . .	36·10N	28·0E
II	Rio de Janeiro .	22·57S	43·7W
II	Rio de la Plata	35·6S	56·25W
I	Rio di Affonte (*see* Great Fish River)	33·24S	27·0E
I	Rio Grande .	12·0N	15·0W
II	Roanoke I. .	35·50N	75·38W
I	Rochelle . .	46·9N	1·9W
II	Rocky Mts. .	43·0N	110·0W
I	Rome . . .	41·54N	12·29E
*	Rorke's Drift .	28·20S	30·30E
I	Roncesvalles .	42·59N	1·20W
IA	Roscrea . .	52·57N	7·48W
IA	Rotterdam .	51·55N	4·29E
IA	Roxburgh . .	55·25N	2·35W
I	Rugen I. . .	54·30N	13·30E
IA	Rye . . .	50·57N	0·44E
IA	Ryswick . .	52·3N	4·13E
II	Sable I. . .	44·0N	60·0W
I	Sagres . . .	37·1N	8·57W
II	St. Augustine, Florida	29·51N	81·30W
IA	St. David's .	51·53N	5·16W
II	St. George's Bay	46·0S	68·0W
I	St. Helena I. .	16·0S	5·38W
II	St. John's, Newfoundland	47·36N	52·54W
II	St. Lawrence R.	47·30N	70·0W
IA	St. Malo . .	48·39N	2·1W
II	St. Matthew's Bay	42·0S	65·0W
IV	St. Miguel's Bay	8·0N	77·50W
II	St. Michael I. (*see* Azores)	36·30N	26·0W
I	St. Omer . .	50·45N	2·15E
	St. Thomas. . (*see* Madras)	13·0N	80·14E
*	Salamis Bay .	37·57N	23·38E
I	Saldanha Bay .	33·0S	17·33E
III	Samarcand .	39·49N	67·19E
II	Sanderson's Hope	72·20N	55·0W
IV	San Domingo (Hispaniola)	1·19N	71·20W
II	San Francisco .	37·47N	122·25W
IV	San Juan de Ulloa (*see* Vera Cruz)	18·0N	97·40W

MAP.		LAT.	LONG.
II	San Salvador (Cat. I.)	13·39N	89·13W
*	San Thomé .	22·0S	40·44W
II	Santa Maria I. (*see* Azores)	36·30N	26·0W
I	Saragossa *or* Zaragoza	41·35N	0·53W
II	Saskatchewan R.	53·17N	105·0W
I	Scheldt R. . .	50·10N	3·11E
IA	Scilly Is. . .	49·55N	6·20W
IA	Scone . . .	56·26N	3·26W
I	Seilan I. . .		
IA	Seine R. . .	49·5N	1·36E
I	Senegal R. . .	14·30N	14·30W
IA	Severn R. . .	52·28N	3·40W
I	Seville . . .	37·22N	5·52W
*	Shanghai . .	31·13N	121·27E
IA	Sheppey I. . .	51·24N	0·50E
I	Shetland Is. .	60·0N	1·0W
I	Sicily . . .	37·0N	14·0E
I, IVB, C	Sierra Leone .	8·0N	12·0W
I	Silesia . . .	51·0N	17·0E
I	Singapore I. .	1·18N	103·54E
III	Sirr R. . . .	15·30N	69·0E
IA	Skye I. . . .	57·20N	6·15W
I, III	Socotra I. . .	12·30N	54·0E
I	Sofala . . .	20·3S	34·29E
IA	Solway Firth .	54·50N	3·30W
IA	Somerton . .	51·3N	2·44W
IA	Southampton .	50·54N	1·23W
I	Spitzbergen .	78·20N	20·0E
IA	Stamford . .	52·40N	0·29W
IA	Stirling . . .	56·7N	3·56W
IA	Stourbridge .	52·38N	2·9W
I	Stralsund . .	54·20N	13·5E
I, III	Suakim . .	19·6N	27·33E
IA	Sudbury . .	52·2N	0·43E
I, III	Suez. . . .	29·56N	32·35E
I	Sumatra I. .	0·0	120·0E
III	Surat . . .	21·10N	72·32E
I, III	Sutlej R. . .	31·0N	76·10E
	Swally (*see* Surat)		
IV	Tabasco R. .	18·28N	92·48W
I	Table Bay . .	34·0S	18·30E
IVA	Tacuba (*see* Mexico City)		
I	Tagus R. . .	38·40N	8·30W
I	Tangier . .	35·45N	5·47W
I	Tanjore . .	10·45N	79·7E
III	Tarsus . . .	37·0N	34·50E
I	Tasmania . .	43·0S	146·0E
*	Temple de Breuil	41·47N	1·13E
IVA	Tepeaca . . .	18·58N	97·56W
	Tepeyac (*see* Mexico City)		
I	Ternate . .	0·48N	127·30E
I	Teschen. . .	49·45N	18·38E
IVA	Texcoco (*see* Mexico City)		
IA	Thames R. .	51·24N	0·30W
IA	Thanet I. . .	51·23N	1·23E
*	Thermopylae .	38·48N	22·32E

MAP.		LAT.	LONG.
III	Tiberias. . .	32·50N	35·20E
I	Tidor I. . .	0·45N	127·26E
I	Tiku . . .	0·28S	99·58E
I	Timbuctoo . .	17·48N	3·9W
I	Timor I. . .	9·0S	126·0E
II	Titicaca I. . .	15·30S	69·30W
IV	Tlacotalpan .	18·34N	95·52W
IV	Tlascala . .	19·18N	98·2W
I	Toledo . . .	39·51N	4·0W
I	Tor	28·13N	33·40E
*	Tordesillas . .	41·31N	5·1W
II	Toronto. . .	43·40N	79·28W
I	Toulon . . .	43·7N	5·56E
I	Toulouse . .	43·36N	5·56E
IA	Tours . . .	47·23N	0·42E
IA	Trent R. . .	53·35N	0·44W
I	Trichinopoli .	10·47N	78·43E
II, IV	Trinidad I. .	10·30N	61·20W
I	Tripoli . . .	29·50N	17·0E
I	Tristan d'Acunha I.	37·6S	12·1W
I	Troyes . . .	48·18N	4·4E
IV	Tumbez. . .	3·42S	80·30W
I	Tunis . . .	36·46N	10·9E
I, III	Turkestan . .	41·0N	60·0E
IA	Tyne R. . .	55·1N	1·26W
I, III	Tyre . . .	33·16N	35·12E
IA	Tyrone . . .	54·45N	7·15W
IB	Ulubaria . .	38·10N	30·30E
IA	Utrecht . .	52·25N	5·7E
I	Valencia . .	39·30N	0·24W
I	Valenciennes .	50·22N	3·30E
I	Vardo . . .	70·25N	31·12E
IA	Veere . . .	51·34N	3·39E
I	Vellore . . .	12·53N	79·8E
II	Venezuela . .	8·0N	66·0W
I	Venice . . .	45·26N	12·20E
IV	Vera Cruz . .	19·11N	96·8W
IA	Verdun . . .	49·10N	5·22E
I, III	Vistula R. . .	50·0N	19·0E
I	Vizagapatam .	17·41N	83·19E
III	Vladimir . .	56·7N	40·28E
III	Vlogn *or* Vologhda	59·12N	39·56E
I, III	Volga R. . .	46·0N	48·10E
*	Wandiwash .	12·32N	79·33E
IA	Wandrille . .		
IA	Waterford . .	52·15N	7·6W
*	Watling Street	52·0N	0·45W
IA	Westphalia .		
IA	Weymouth .	50·37N	2·27W
I, III	White Sea . .	66·0N	40·0E
IA	Wight, I. of .	50·40N	1·20W
IA	Winchester .	51·13N	1·18W
III	Wisby . . .	57·36N	18·26E
IA	Worcester . .	52·12N	2·14W

MEXICO
GULF OF MEXICO
Havana
Mexico
Popocatepetl
Cholula
Campeachy
YUCATAN
Acapulco
GUATEMALA
HONDURAS
Guatemala
San Salvador
NICARAGUA
PACIFIC OCEAN
Reference to Causeways
1 Tacuba Causeway
2 Iztapalapa
3 Mexicaltzingo
4 Tepeyac
5 Small Causeway
6 Dyke of Netzahualcoyotl
Chiconautla
Atengo
Texcoco
Lake of Texcoco
Tacuba
Mexico City
Tenochtitlan
Chapultepec
Iztapalapa
Coyoacan
Lake of Xochimilco
Xochimilco
Lake of Chalco
Chalco
Ayotzingo
VALLEY OF MEXICO
(Time of Cortes)
English Miles
Route of Cortés from Cholula
Tropic of Cancer
Equator
Congo
ANGOLA
Tropic of Capricorn
Durban
Cape Town
AFRICA
British Possessions, 1884
Scale 1:165,000,000
Kilometres
English Miles
British Possessions
AFRICA
British Possessions, 1914
Scale 1:165,000,000
Kilometres
English Miles
105°
100°
95°
90°
85° Longitude West


SPANISH CONQUESTS IN THE NEW WORLD
Scale 1: 26,000,000
Kilometres
250 0 250 500 750 1000
English Miles
250 200 150 100 50 0 250 500
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
Bahama
Islands
HISPANIOLA
JAMAICA
San Domingo
PORTO RICO
TRINIDAD
R. Orinoco
VENEZUELA
GUIANA
R. Essequibo
Manoa, El Dorado
L. Amucu (Parima)
Rio Negro
R. Amazon
R. Putumayo
R. Napo
Omaguas
Cinnamon Land
Cajamarca
R. Maranon
Pachacamac
Cuzco
Darien
Panama
of Greenwich
75°
70°
65°
60°
55°
20°
15°
10°
5°
0°

MAP.		LAT.	LONG.
I	Yangtse Kiang R.	31·15N	121·45E
IA	Yarmouth . .	52·37N	1·43E
IA	York . . .	53·57N	1·5W
II	Yorktown . . .	37·14N	76·30W
IA	Ypres . . .	50·50N	2·53E
IV	Yucatan . .	19·40N	89·20W
I	Zambesi R. . .	13·55S	26·0E
I	Zanzibar I. .	5·0S	38·30E
IA	Zealand . .	51·30N	3·50E
*	Zebu . . .	10·30N	123·40E
	Zochimilco (*see* Mexico City)		

INTRODUCTION

There are dictionary definitions of "empire," but as a rule they are neither very definite nor sufficiently detailed. "An aggregate of states ruled over by a federal authority," says Murray; "Political organisations of great power and territorial extent"; "A dominant state with outlying dependencies as opposed to colonies," and so on.

Originally, when the world was small, the word implied universal authority over the known world. But such a meaning very quickly becomes, as the world grows larger, subject to exception, and as the image is worn with age it is very loosely used. I do not attempt a definition except to propose that our mental conception of empire predicates a single hereditary ruler to whom all owe allegiance, sprung from an acknowledged family of royal descent, of a supreme race which professes a highly organised religion; and that the word suggests that this stronger race, being firmly persuaded of its moral superiority, when it comes in conflict with and absorbs a politically weaker people, will, so far as may be humanly possible, shape their social and political institutions in accordance with its own interests.

A superior religious belief held and believed in by the ruler and the supreme people is, in my opinion, an essential for any empire which looks to uphold its supremacy of rule by political actions in accordance with spiritual ideals. Such empire is opposed to the dead anarchy of military supremacy which, resting on force alone, and on the terror occasioned by the unlimited use of force, lasts so long only as the military equipment opposed to it is not superior.

I would add as a corollary to this definition that empire involves such a delegation of political power that for the most part within an empire, except for what may

be a shadowy allegiance to the common ruler, there is no complete sovereignty.

The feudalism of mediaeval times, for instance, was imperial in so far as its essence was the delegation to subordinate territorial authorities of power almost absolute as heritable right, opposed to any claim of absolute power on the part of the superior lord, but subject to some payment or other acknowledgment of his sovereignty. For examples, William the Lion of Scotland lost none of his power of internal authority over his Scottish marmoers and earls by his submission to Henry II; the same is true of Richard I in 1193 when he surrendered the English crown to the Emperor Henry VI, who handed it back to him as a fief of the Empire; so long as the English Kings held Normandy as vassals of the French crown, they exercised, in spite of the deep mutual jealousy between them and the French Kings, unquestioned authority within the province; in the same way the difficulties of the English Kings in Aquitaine, which had such a disastrous effect upon their disputes with the independent barons of England, arose from the limitations of their authority in the provinces, which prevented them from obtaining aid or unity for imperial offence or defence and checked their interference in the constant wars between their vassals. It would be easy to multiply the examples.

The same principle applied to the submission to the Papacy of the European Kings. When the Cardinal Archbishop of Meaux threatens to lay all the dominions of Henry II under interdict unless he hands over to his son Richard the Princess Alice betrothed to him, Henry appeals to the Pope, "et posuerunt ipsum regem et se ipsos et totum regnum Angliæ in protectione Domini Papæ."[1] John later follows his example. It is not until the times of the Tudors that the system, though for long doomed, comes to an end in the islands. Then the incomplete imperial sovereignty of feudalism gave place to absolute monarchy.

The delegation may be of the widest character, as, for example, when the Osnabrück Treaty VIII, i. and ii., of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 confirmed to the Electors,

Princes, and Estates of the Roman Empire their ancient rights, prerogatives, liberties, privileges, free exercise of territorial right, etc. etc. They could make treaties at home or with foreigners, or claim freedom from taxation or the right of holding a local parliament. After the Act of Union of Canada in 1840 the Legislative Assembly resolved : that the most important as well as the most undoubted of the political rights of the people is that of having a provincial Parliament for the protection of their liberties. In no empire can authority be absolute.[2]

Up to the time of the American revolution, European colonial dependencies stood on the same footing as alien peoples in respect of their political relation to the ruling race. The ruling race being generally a small minority in the distant colony, in the midst of hostile peoples, the administration, which was always in the interests of the parent country, was also for the most part in the interests of the colonials as members of the race. The peculiar quality of the American revolution lay in the fact that the continent occupied by the Europeans in North America was, except in Mexico, practically an empty land ; the only inhabitants were wandering tribes of hunters of a very low standard of living : the intruders were easy masters of the country and soon in a very large majority. They had no such struggle with old civilities as fell to the lot of the Spaniards in Peru and Mexico. In consequence, when the French Government had been expelled from Canada, the British colonists over the whole continent held the then unique position of a people in which the dominant home race was in an immense unquestioned and homogeneous majority.

Not being dependent, like the colonies of Spain and Portugal, upon the home people for support against the majority of native people of the colonial land, they were from the first unwilling to submit to laws made and taxes levied by the distant mother country, even when the taxes were imposed in order to pay for military operations against the French which had been successfully undertaken for their benefit. It resulted from this exceptional situation that in the eighteenth century these British in America revolted

and separated, so introducing to the modern world a new conception of the relation of a colony to the home country.

It was a new conception, resulting from the fact that the British Empire accepted the lesson of successful rebellion. As the British spread over the world by emigration from the British Isles, the British Government entered into relations with all the great aggregates of her own race, which allowed them, with one exception, to govern themselves, hold their own Parliaments, and make their own laws, subject only to the tie of the kingship. As a result, in what is called the British Empire are twenty-three independent States, having their own parliamentary government within the Empire, irrespective of race or religion. This strong, excellent relationship is not one of empire, but is a Confederation of equal powers under the King. It is the result of the American rebellion.

Where all the peoples look to a single permanent head, we speak of such confederations of equal states as empire. For instance, the Germans in Europe, a confederation of States in a ring fence under a central government chosen by themselves, States homogeneous in race, of similar political and social status, and all professing the Christian religion, were called the German Empire. The United States of America, which is of a similar character, would, if not a republic governed by the nominees of the majority, as justly deserve the name.

So striking has been the effect of this British Confederation of States on political ideals that Mr. Chamberlain, in a speech at the Mansion House in March 1903, defined the new empire as "a voluntary organisation based on community of interests and community of sacrifice to which all should bring their contribution to the common good"; a beautiful definition, but for Ireland and India and the four million square miles of densely populated Africa and Asia absorbed by the British and governed by force only during the past forty years.

There are two modes, and two only, of governing any people. One is the perpetual exercise of brute force, the compulsion of superior numbers or material power, the

superiority of mechanical contrivance; this is saying to the governed: You have no choice, you shall obey at your peril the laws which we give you, which we may consider good. Our officials will administer them in our interests, and in yours so far as they do not conflict with ours.

Where there is a grave difference of rate of progress, a deep gulf between social, political, and religious habits and beliefs, as between ourselves and the African tribes, this mode may be bearable or even preferable. It need not of necessity impair either just laws or honest administration. All empires govern numbers of the people subject to them by this mode, but the necessity for the exercise of such force is in itself an argument against this class of imperial possession.

For *permanent* empire, whether over subject aliens or over homogeneous peoples of similar race and religion, the rule must also be in accordance with the wishes and in the interests of the people ruled. Naked force only succeeds so long as there is enough of it. Although the superiority of force may be maintained for centuries, it is always accompanied by deterioration of the State ruled, by the moral wreckage in still greater measure of the ruling State, and by perpetual disturbance and accumulations of hatred which spell weakness for the ruling power abroad. As Burke said long ago of the struggle with the American colonies, force may subdue for a moment, but that nation is not governed which has perpetually to be subdued.

The only justification for such an aspect of empire is that the occupation is greatly for the material benefit of the imperial power, and that the people of the country held share in the benefit.

The other method, a mode of living agreeable to the traditions of our own history and to the development of our constitution, is government by the consent of the majority of the governed, as expressed either by their voting in an assembly elected by themselves or by their willing assistance in the enforcement of the laws which hold society together. This is the only mode by which either just or peaceable rule is possible, where the races

subject to the supreme authority are closely allied in religion and rate of progress. It is because we have always violated this rule with regard to Ireland, and have governed that country by brute force in the interests of a very small and irreconcilable minority of disloyal Scots, disregarding the vehemently expressed wishes of the great majority of the nation, that its present condition is such a menace to our own ideals of freedom.

These two modes of imperial rule, federal imposition of obedience by force, and rule by the consent of the majority of the governed—for the most part the latter—go on side by side in Europe and in European dependencies. In Asia conditions are different. The Asiatic Empire has seldom rested on any other than brute force. But where Europeans have conquered in Asia, the conquest has been achieved in the past by small bodies of adventurers, coming first for trade, then settling as an armed trading body in territories occupied by dense populations armed with weapons of less mechanical efficiency. Finally, having brought with them from Europe the ideas of obedience to law, which has followed the conception of rule by majority, they have been quietly accepted as rulers on account of the peace and prosperity which have accompanied the equity of their legal procedure. The rulers do not seek the consent of the governed, but their rule of force is modified by the action of impartial courts of law which operate independently of the political power to give equal justice to all. This is in contrast to the Asiatic empires of Asiatics, which have seldom rested on any other than brute force, being the result of military conquest on an enormous scale by migration of great armies or even whole peoples from lands where life is hard, where the climate forbids the reluctant earth to produce sufficient for man's subsistence without most severe and unremitting labour, to lands where the soft air and warm sun and fertile soil render the satisfaction of daily wants easy. Further, these invasions have come from peoples whose religion has urged conquest for the faith, or from savage races of low-grade pagan creeds who know no rule of life but force. The result is that the

empire gained by force is held, so long as may be, by force against the certain future irruption from the north of other savage peoples, who, not having been subjected to the soft air, are more physically able to endure hardness. In the end each such invading horde falls before superior physical strength and courage. This has been the fate of all empires founded on and administered by force.

Empire assumes that countries connected by a common head vary in degree or in direction of social and political growth, in views of religion, in progress of science and art.

I propose later (Chapter XIX, Section ii., and Appendix M) to contrast the two social systems on which, with divers variations, organised human life, as it meets us throughout history, rests in all the world. The one which we may call the communal or tribal society, a social system in which three-fourths of the people of the world still live, is founded on elemental social instincts which from time to time reassert themselves, as by the nationalisation of the sources of wealth in Russia recently.

The other form, under which we in Europe live, is, we believe, necessary for the existence of commercial relations, leaving a sufficient freedom for individual action which is wanting in the communal usage. In the communal society the people of Asia for the most part live.

We Europeans assume from our great commercial predominance and our superiority in war a superiority to the Asiatics. Yet it is from the peoples who practise these communal customs of society that all the structure of the European anatomy has come; not only has Europe been frequently repeopled from Asia in the historic past, so that in remembrance of devastating invasions we use the words Huns and Goths as nicknames for peoples waging war in barbaric fashion or committing acts of ill taste; not only does the religion of Europe and much of our philosophic thought spring from the East; we are indebted to the Eastern peoples for the breeds of our domestic animals, for the materials for clothing, for our knowledge of the sciences, industries, and arts—for all the framework, in fact, of what we are wont to call civilisation.

How comes it, any thinking man must ask himself, that these Eastern races who have conferred upon us so much in the past submit to be ruled or bullied by the Western nations who can show so little, even at the present day, of the amenities of life, apart from their mechanical inventions, which are superior or even equal to the East? What is the secret of our superiority? Is it temporary accident, or due to conditions which are permanent?

Is it a permanent ascendancy due to a superiority of race? I trow not. We have always been too liable to frequent Asiatic invasion to trust in any such theory of permanence. One thing which is quite certain is, that the successive waves of immigration into Europe from the East in very early times rested on a framework of society which prohibited the cohesion which we call a nation, the various bands of invaders not being of necessity the same or different races. Race, I think, has very little to do with it.

If not race, what then? At the present moment no doubt the efficiency of our mechanical weapons of war asserts our predominance. But we have only to go back a hundred and fifty years to find our very slight superiority in this respect, and in another hundred and fifty years hence the intelligence of the Eastern races may easily raise them to our level in powers of destruction. Our vast empire in Asia fell to us not as the result of conquest, but from encroachments and settlements occurring in the course of trade. Into the Chinese Empire we have until recently been humble and apologetic intruders.

One great cause of our superiority may, I believe, be traced to our temperate climate, the influence of the Gulf Stream, and the Mediterranean Sea. The climate and soil are neither too soft and too rich to induce laxness of effort, nor too severe and too poor to make progress in civility a supreme difficulty.

The nearness to warm water has led to familiarity with ocean travel, while the moderate returns from the soil have encouraged the increasing population to seek a livelihood beyond the seas.

It is the close neighbourhood of the sea which has given to Europe the growth of free institutions which distinguish her politics from those of Asia. The great migratory armies which brought military rule to the wastes of Asia receded or settled as colonists when they reached the narrow limits of the lands of Western Europe. They brought with them to the shores of the Mediterranean, whence all our Western civility has proceeded, a tradition of the democratic freedom which attends this communal formation, a freedom which has become a tradition of European life. Meanwhile the Asiatic populations which had settled as cultivators in the fertile lands of southern Asia became subject to military imperialism, while they continued to live in a communal system of which the chief weakness is its want of organisation for war.

Our Empire in India and the East is the great example of such Asiatic Empire resting on the confidence inspired in the Eastern peoples by the honesty and justice of our rule. It was built up not by the superiority of brute force, but by men who "held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better." It was an Empire built up by dogged persistence against powerful foes, both European and Asiatic, by the combination of all the best qualities which attend successful adventure—self-reliance, perseverance, fair dealing, courage, and comparative freedom from interference from the men at home.

Speaking of his examination of the historical records in Bengal and of European archives, Sir William Hunter says (Introduction to his *History of British India*): "The vision of our Indian Empire, as a marvel of destiny, scarcely wrought by human hands, faded away. Nor did the vacuum theory, of the inrush of the British power into an Asiatic void, correspond more closely with the facts. . . . The popular presentment of the East India Company, as a sovereign ruler, with vast provinces and tributary kingdoms under its command, obscured the most characteristic achievement of our nation in Asia. That achievement was no sudden triumph, but an indomitable endurance during a century and a half of frustration and defeat. As

the English" (meaning the English, Scots, and Welsh) "were to wield a power in the East greater than that of any other European people, so was their training for the task to be harder and more prolonged."

I have been compelled in these brief notes to assume some slight knowledge of early history, at least of England, so as to enable me to deal with early affairs so far only as past events may be guide or warning to us in our relations with all those far lands and various peoples, which, having their own modes of thought, their own growths of social life and political framework, acknowledge the one British King as their lord and only tie of empire.

Replying to a deputation in 1919, Mr. Fisher, the Minister in charge of Education, gave as a reason for the absence of any teaching of imperial history, that there were no text-books.[3] This being so, I have concerned myself more with the difficulties and dangers which at all times attend all empires, looking to the possibilities of the future rather than to the glories of the past, which are never in need of a recorder.

Our written history begins with the occupation for four hundred years of England and Southern Scotland by a world Empire which has hardly passed away, the imperial power of Rome. Through this great military Empire, and often through her alone, we have knowledge of other great empires of the past, a knowledge through which we may view the shadowy outlines of a world beyond, of the East, even of the various Empires of India and China.

Beside the four invasions and conquest by Rome, our islands have formed part of past empires, England in the eleventh century being part of the domains of the Kings of Denmark and Norway, and a great part of Scotland of the King of Norway, up to the fourteenth century.

Those who are willing to learn can take warning by the struggles and disappearance of the empires of the past—of Carthage, Rome, Baghdad, or Norway—whether they tell of dependence on sea power, the certain eventual failure of brute force as the foundation of imperial rule, or of the dangers waiting on the attempt, even at its best, to govern

many peoples of various languages, customs, and directions of progress, by one head from one centre.

It has been, I think, a disadvantage to British students that their eyes should have been directed in imperial study, even with the assistance of great historians, such as Mommsen and Gibbon, so entirely to Rome. We are a naval power only, resting for our physical superiority on sea power, and not on military power. Greece, Portugal, and Holland are types of imperial power far closer to our conditions than military Rome, the more so because we may learn from them lessons of the ethical basis of empire for which we may look in vain from the pagan road-makers of the past, whose only virtue was valour, as from the pagan Prussia or atheist France of to-day.

If anyone doubts the exclusively naval character of our Empire, let him call the atlas to his assistance, and survey the string of sea ports and river fortresses which form the doors of our entry from the highway of the sea to the interior of every continent. The history of the Carthaginian sailors who penetrated in the past to Arguin or the Congo and to the tin mines of Cornwall, or of the Portuguese heroes who opened to Christian Europe two-thirds of the world, would be a far closer example for the needs of our Empire than that of military Rome.

There is another aspect in which Rome is an example for us Western Europeans, for there is another side to empire besides the necessity for adequate physical force. The moral forces which accompany the invasions of the overflowing nations are of more importance for permanence than the physical forces even to-day. Where the advancing armies bring with them no dream of higher faith or nobler life their power of offence is limited by the military capacity of the leader. The hordes of Genghis Khan or Timour have only the temporary effect of a great wave falling on an expanse of flat sand.

The success and permanency of empire rests, in the first place, on the action of the imperial race tallying with the moral conceptions which form their creed. There would be little driving force for conflict if it were not for

this belief in moral superiority, which, however evilly employed in practice, arms in turn each party to the combat. When the islander goes out to other lands—to America, to Asia, to Africa—he carries with him this belief in the moral superiority of his creed over that of other people. If his success has any permanency it is because the physical superiority is accompanied by evidence of a high moral sense which appeals to the people who succumb to the physical force. So long as he believes, or even affects to believe, in his creed, his actions will attempt, officially at least, to conform to it. Without this no physical force can *permanently* succeed anywhere. When his belief fails, or when his actions are so detestably in contrast to his belief as to show that in effect he has surrendered it, his empire dies. The form of moral force is of the essence of imperial progress. If an empire permits a Christian nation to be crushed by a power professing a form of belief which does not inculcate Christian self-sacrifice, it is endangering its own existence.

Apart from its effect on their own courage and moral sense, the religious creed of the European has in the past counted for little in the struggle with the Asiatic.

Even if the European adventurer from the sixteenth century onwards had lived up to the level of the Christian faith which he carried with him, it was unlikely that the followers of Buddha or Mohammed or Confucius would forsake their beliefs and ideals for the religion of Christ. To them Christianity is only one of many forms of revealed religion of Asiatic origin, from whence all our ideals, all our better strivings, and all our superstitions come. To the Asiatic the very similarity of many of the precepts of Christianity to those of the earlier beliefs must look like imitation and not revelation.

Still the Asiatic respects the European for the certain satisfaction of impartial justice which has grown from his development of free institutions in Europe, and which is wanting under the arbitrary rule of the Eastern. Any day he may equal the European in his preparations for war, and even in his military leadership. Whether the European

will continue to maintain his superiority will depend upon his holding to the free institutions and the impartial justice which flows from them, and the profession and practice of Christian principles from which they result.

When the Imperial Rome of physical superiority after four hundred years of occupation left Britain, Roman influence came back in the moral force of the monk Augustine sent by the great Pope Gregory.

This Roman theocracy grew by the destruction of the Greek Empire of the East into prominence as the head of Christendom, claiming and obtaining through and after the Crusades unquestioned empire over the peoples of Western Europe. Her strength lay in her claim to a moral superiority over the exponents of physical force alone as the expression of power. That her empire was based on moral and not dependent on physical force told for its permanence. It fell when the moral force gave way, when the Pope received the gift of Italian land and became an Italian prince with an army in the place of being a world emperor with none. His imperial prestige disappeared, and only began to revive when he became the prisoner of the Vatican in the nineteenth century.

While Rome was in her most depressed and decayed state a new empire arose in the East from the desert oases of Arabia.

At the time of Mohammed's birth the people of the Hedjaz practised a traditional religion, centring round Adam, Abraham, and Ishmael, filled with fanciful fables and attended by the worship of numbers of idols. Mohammed taught a purer faith, and a life of greater severity and strictness, but he met with bitter opposition and was little successful in his earlier efforts.

In 622 he was driven from Mecca by his enemies. He died in 632. The flight from Mecca was but a prelude to the conquest by his successors of a great part of the known world and the formation of theocratic empires which in some form or other have lasted to our day, which, owing to the follies and quarrels of our Western demagogues, may be a danger yet to exhausted Europe.

"The Berbers of Africa, the barbarians of Turkestan, the lively Saracens of the Arabian deserts, the proud Syrians with their biblical memories, the rich and powerful Persians, the dwellers in Armenia and Mesopotamia, the Egyptians and the tribes on the borders of Cathay, the inhabitants of the peninsula of Spain—all these were not to be moulded into a homogeneous nation under one religious faith in the short space of a quarter of a century." Yet the success of the creed threatened the very existence of Christian Europe.

In spite of their divisions (for the descendants of the Prophet disputed the succession until at one time there were three caliphates in existence), they repeatedly threatened and besieged Constantinople, they took Jerusalem, drove the warlike Emperor Heraclius out of Syria, scattered the Roman navies, occupied Egypt, taking the great city of Alexandria, the commercial metropolis of the East, and conquering all the northern coast of Africa ; and in 710 they crossed into Spain, out of which they drove the Visigoths. Advancing into France, their onward course was at length stayed by a great victory which Charles Martel, the grandfather of Charlemagne, won over them at Tours in 732.

In 762 the caliphs of the Abbaside branch founded Baghdad, which they held for five hundred years, until its fall to the Tartars in 1258. In 778 Charlemagne was defeated at Roncesvalles.

These Mohammedan rulers, unlike the Turks who supplanted them, were patrons of letters and learning. The Greek literature, the sciences, the mathematics, physics, astronomy, with such Western letters as had survived the fall of Rome, were cultivated by them at a time when Christian Europe was buried in intense ignorance, a darkness only to disappear as the Crusades introduced us not only to the art and literature of the East, but to a great civilisation hitherto unknown. As the Caliphate became rich it also became weak. The religious supremacy remained, because it ceased to affect lay power ; but the lay power broke to pieces.

For nearly four hundred years, while the Eastern Empire of the Greeks was engaged in a prolonged defence against the Arabian successors of Mohammed, the Western world was engaged in attempts to replace the lost Rome of the West by some authority which could act as a Court of Appeal between the nations. The conditions favoured the Pope as such an arbiter, giving him gradually a double authority, the two halves of which reacted on one another. Armed with the moral powers only, to which he claimed to subordinate the physical forces of the kings, he represented as Bishop of Rome the spiritual continuity of the successor of St. Peter. As temporal ruler of Rome he became, as Charlemagne's empire decayed, the revived representative of the ancient Western Empire, representing to the warring world of tribes and kingdoms the overlordship by which old Rome in East and West alike had stifled local warfare and eradicated local creeds.

This necessity for an arbiter to limit war and unite differing nations is always so strongly felt that from time to time ambitious rulers, selfish or benevolent, set up as supermen to benefit the world by the revival of the Roman peace. In almost every century of her history Europe has seen some such effort at predominance, either by Pope or Emperor.

But all such offers of supreme rule have been based not on moral, but on physical force, and the British, living outside Europe and combining with their imperial progress the free institutions of the communal society, have always hitherto opposed such physical autocracy over the society of nations in Europe. This opposition, which may be expressed as a doctrine of balance of power, need not prohibit the pre-eminence of an Imperial Court of Appeal representing all the nations, which might act as an arbiter to prevent wars, and to protect the weaker Powers from the selfishness and cupidity of the stronger.

One of the troubles of empire in all times is the tendency to expansion in excess of the means at the disposal of the federal power by the seizure of territories adjacent to those already occupied, expansion often leading to very expensive attempts to dominate territory which

from its physical character or other cause is of no value to the occupier. The imperial power, if it follows its adventurers with its ships and guns, may have to make such seizure to end the perpetual squabbles of border peoples, neither induced nor desired by the central government (*e.g.* Guiana and Venezuela). Or the territory may be seized from jealous fear to forestall occupation by some one else who might be troublesome to the first land-grabber. So M. Jules Ferry, speaking in the French Chamber in July 1885, admits that the seizure of Cyprus by England had influenced the French expedition to Tunis; that the encroachments of the Belgian Association had led to French settlements on the Congo; and the loss of Egypt to the French conquest of Tonquin.

The whole history of the occupation of the Americas by Europeans has been the constant march of the better-equipped peoples on their next-door neighbours, dictated partly by fear, partly by jealousy, partly by hope of gain. So China has through the centuries reached out across Central Asia to the west, Russia to the Pacific coast to the east, Spaniards and Portuguese and French and British and Dutch over the American continent, the Dutch over the Malayan Peninsula and islands, and the British over the Indian Peninsula until stopped by the sea or the Himalayas. This instinct of expansion is responsible for most of the unrest of the world. In the hands of unprincipled or incompetent politicians it is apt to lead to most dangerous developments for an overburdened empire, which has its resources already fully pledged by its then present commitments.

The Romans in the later stages of the Western Empire were beginning to feel the necessity of restraint in land seizure, and were the less inclined to press conquest in the West, where they had no rivals, as they were faced with dangerous opponents in Persia and elsewhere in the East. This probably accounts for the fact that they did not take the trouble to occupy the mountains and lakes of North Britain, or to undertake the apparently easy conquest of Ireland, a very much more valuable and fertile country,

which was well known to the ancient world, evidently in close touch with the Phoenicians of Cadiz and the African coast. No doubt the traders to Ireland would dwell on its worthlessness to the Roman tax-gatherer, the ferocity of its inhabitants, and the hideous terrors of the sea that encircled it. Ireland remained in her tribal formation outside Roman influence for more than a thousand years.

The nucleus of our present Empire outside the islands dates back (even if we ignore the conquest of Scotland and Ireland in the twelfth century and our French possessions in the fourteenth century) at least to the sixteenth century; we govern or control an enormous area of the earth's surface, for the most part densely populated, from these islands; we are, or were until lately, supreme on the seas. Our distant possessions have become hostages to the rest of the world for our good administration; we can no longer ignore foreign opinion and knowledge of our actions under the present condition of close neighbourhood and increased speed; it has become necessary for our own protection that our young people should learn the elementary historical facts underlying the imperial responsibilities which have accrued to them during the last three centuries over seven continents.

We British, confident of the liberty won or bought for us in the past, have a sincere belief in our power to confer similar benefits on the weaker peoples; sanitation where they want pasturage for their pigs, or a mass of highly paid Anglo-Scottish officials where they seek freedom from the tyranny of the alien. Involved in his virtue, the British official goes out from the island to other continents without any training in the first principles on which communal life is based, and with no incentive to acquaint himself with a society for which he has only a contempt.[4] His historical studies will be unlikely to have taught him anything about the tribe or the joint family, or of the personal relations of the people to the chief. When he makes a fraudulent treaty with the African or Asiatic chief, causing the chief to give away for a gold-laced hat and an out-of-date gun the pasturage or the land of the tribe, he does so, as a rule,

in entire ignorance of the social frame, in which the tribal chief has no absolute ownership or power, but only a greater share of rights of pasturage and cultivation of the land, of wives and cattle, concubines and slaves, or of the rules as to the possession of the soil, marriage customs, and rights of property between husband and wife. Following by his English histories the later chapters of his own feudal institutions as exhibiting the only normal condition of a high human civility, he will be almost certain to look upon the land as belonging to the chief as the federal ruler, the entity which we call the State, which in an empire is commonly an alien, instead of to the community, and in his mind will vest in the tribal ruler an absolute property in the land, and through his gift an absolute property in individuals. Starting from such absolutely false premises, he may draw throughout wrong conclusions.[5]

If he has not acquainted himself with the stories of the adventurers who first explored the worlds unknown to the European, the official will hardly realise the difficulties to be met in the competition for sovereignty or in the economic opportunities for trade. There is always a leaven among our foreign administrators and travellers of men and women who have obtained a wider outlook on history, who have by knowledge or instinct learnt a moderation of conceit such as will enable them to acquire a sympathy with the races composing our Empire, to advance its real interests, and to consolidate its rule with safety and honour. But they are the rare exceptions who have shown themselves superior to their instruction at home.

"I often think," says a very brilliant writer on Africa, "when I hear the progress of civilisation, our duty towards the lower races, etc., talked of, as if those words were in themselves Ju Ju (*Fetish*), of that improving fable of the kind-hearted she-elephant, who, while walking out one day inadvertently trod upon a partridge, and observing close at hand a nest full of callow fledgings, dropped a tear, and saying 'I have the feelings of a mother myself,' sat down on the brood." Applying the parable to our Empire in Africa, the writer continues: "And what profit she is going

to get out of such proceedings I own I don't know. I know hardly any more pathetic sight than the new official, recently appointed, buzzing around, trying to find out 'what the place is really like, you know." Drawing a contrast between West Africa and the Malay Peninsula, " there are, of course, local differences, but the main characteristics as regards the state form are singularly alike. *It is likened to our own European state form of the thirteenth century.* The destruction of what is good in the thirteenth century culture level, and the fact that when the nineteenth century has had its way the main result is seedy, demoralised natives, is the thing that must make all thinking men wonder if after all such work is, from a high moral point of view, worth the nineteenth century doing."

We have long ago, I think, given up, except for political propaganda, any belief that our land-grabbing has been from any moral standpoint, and not openly for rubber and oil. But nevertheless this writer's commentary is worth repeating: " This seems to me simply to lay upon us English, for the sake of our honour, that we keep clean hands and a cool head and be careful of justice; to do this we must know what there is we wish to wipe out of the African and what there is we wish to put in, and so we must not content ourselves by relying materially on our superior wealth and power, and morally on catch-phrases."

But how are we to look for justice and practise it if we are without elementary knowledge of the history or sociology of the races to which we profess to be superior?

To cross to Asia—another writer, speaking of Sumatra, says: " The hand of the Dutch has fallen heavily on the Achinese. For more than two hundred years they lived at peace under the shadowy protection of England. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century that protection was withdrawn in return for some barren concessions in Ashanti. The Dutch immediately picked a quarrel—the quarrel of Naboth. It is probable that in the same position we should have done the same, for truly we cannot afford to cast reflections on the Dutch, since as land-grabbers we are easily supreme. The Dutch have been fighting

the Achinese for thirty years, and have not conquered them yet, these natives proving unexpectedly difficult to 'pacify,' the spirit of their ancient fame evidently surviving their decay of the body politic. Eventually, of course, they will be civilised. When we were going into Batavia we passed a troopship bound for Padang, crowded with soldiers to hurry up 'civilisation.' Perhaps you wonder why the Dutch are bothering about it at all. The answer is that there are great quantities of gold and tin and oil in the interior, which the Achinese will not let the financier get at—very childish of them and very irritating to the financiers. So more and more drafts of fine big boyish Dutch soldiers are being sent out from Europe to die in the swamps, in order that the financiers may get at the gold more quickly—that is to say, in order that 'they may have an opportunity of opening up the resources of the country, and of bringing peace and security of life and property under the aegis of the Hollander flag to a country erstwhile torn with internecine strife.'" "Substitute the Union Jack for the Dutch tricolour," says the writer, "and it is obvious that if we claimed Sumatra we should be doing exactly as the Dutch are doing now."

"For more than two hundred years," says the writer quoted, "the Achinese lived at peace under the shadowy protection of England." I assert, as the very preface of safe and permanent empire, that this shadowy protection is the only remunerative manner in which the European Power can have satisfactory relations with backward or non-European peoples. The trade to be drawn from a country, and not the use to be made of it as a place for officials, is the only reason for the acquisition of territory for empire. Can it be a profitable market for our manufactures or a home for our increase of race? If freedom of trade means anything, it means that in dealing with peoples whose progress may have lain in the development of peaceful arts, rather than in improvement of mechanical weapons for war, we should confine our interference in their affairs to a guarantee of the open door for trade in their territory for all nations; not permitting, whether in

Uganda or in Mesopotamia, any interference by any State, or by the formation of great alien companies who should receive concessions, armed and supported by the State.

The opposite is both expensive and dangerous. One of the lessons of empire is that attempted monopoly of trade, which has been at the bottom of almost all the great wars, means that the nation asserting the monopoly must be prepared to defend its assertion by force against the world.

Such success as attended our expeditions for trade in the Indies, East and West, in the sixteenth century was due to two causes: first, that our adventurers worked to break down the monopoly of trade by the Mediterranean Powers, and, secondly, that our rulers, though they might lend ships, and take for the Crown a large part of the plunder, refused to identify the political State with the trading gamble, whether it was the slave raids of Hawkins or the gold search of Raleigh. As against all enemies, whether European or native, the adventurers had to stand or fall by their own qualities for success. As a result the English adventurer became more self-reliant, more ready to use his own judgment and to take the initiative than the seamen and traders or colonists who carried out the ventures of the Kings of Spain and Portugal.

State interference to support the adventurer or chartered company against the African native, or Asiatic society, is of the very essence of evil in empire. Left to his own resources of resistance to justify his acts to those who have financed him, given clearly to understand that he could not depend for his superiority on the guns and ships of the State, the colonist would be compelled to walk the straight path and be careful of his faith and his country's honour in dealing with men of other races. He would learn that his superiority consisted in their reliance on his good faith rather than on his more modern weapons, which all but the negroid races will quickly learn to imitate and possess. With the whole material force of a European Power behind him, there is no need for him to consider the morality of his actions. It does not at all follow that the temporary rulers behind him, who place at his disposal the

resources of the State, are influenced by any sense of morality.

So long as the vagrant has to depend upon himself he will improve either physically or morally or he will go under. In either case the conflict will have bettered the world.

In the reckless gamble for African and Asiatic soil in which the Western Powers of Europe have indulged since about 1884, we have obtained in Africa and Asia nearly four millions of square miles of land. This land is not, like our self-governing colonies, sparsely settled and suitable for residence by the people of these islands. Whether in Asia or in Africa, it is densely populated by peoples of a different race, colour, religion, social custom, and political status; it is tropical or semi-tropical, unfitted for reasons of health as a home for European peoples; the European must always be a tiny minority, dependent for his success as ruler and exploiter of the resources of the country more and more on just and honest dealing, and less and less on force. We have given ourselves a mandate for this huge territory. And from this iron cage we cannot get out.

It would be a small matter if the reason for remaining were only that given now by our politicians in 1920 for keeping a huge army in Mesopotamia, namely, that if we went out some other European Power would come in. It is not the intruding European whose competition we have to dread. It is the advance against the white man of the yellow Asiatic, and the Arab and Indian peoples, pouring out from very densely populated regions over parts of the world peopled by lower or weaker races.

To take as an illustration one of the yellow man's nearest objectives—Australia, a temperate climate which we might well hope to hold against the masses of China and Japan, an American, writing of that continent (H. C. Douglas in the *Pacific American Review of Reviews*, April 1917) pithily expresses the difficulty of our policy of exclusion of these yellow races who for so many centuries excluded us from their soil: " White Australia, Australians of all classes and political affiliations, regard the policy much as

Americans regard the Constitution. It is their most articulate article of faith. The reason is not far to seek. . . . Australian civilisation is little more than a partial fringe round the continental coast-line of 12,210 miles. The coast and its hinterlands are settled and developed, although not completely, for the entire circumference ; in the centre of the country lie the apparently illimitable wastes of the never-never land, occupied entirely by scrub, snakes, sand, and black fellows. The almost manless regions of the island continent are a terrible menace. It is impossible to police at all adequately such an enormous area. And the peoples of Asia, beating at the bars that confine them, rousing at last from their age-long slumber, are chafing at the restraints imposed upon their free entry into and settlement of such uninhabited, undeveloped land."

"Age-long slumber" means that the very wide-awake Far-Eastern Asiatics for many centuries excluded both the missionaries and the wastrels of Europe. When, after a very long period of undisturbed expansion, they found themselves faced with mechanical appliances for warfare long anticipated but not needed and not developed by them, they grudgingly admitted the better-armed European. But they have never subordinated their religious or political beliefs to those of the European, nor is it likely that in the future they will accept either European faiths or European civility.

In one respect only does the Oriental life subordinate itself to the European, by the belief in his sense of justice and honest ordering of affairs born of a growth of free institutions unknown in the East, where the rule of autocratic force remains. It is our one element of superiority which we must never let go, whether in our political dealings or in our industrial struggle with the Oriental races. We can only retain it if we still practise the higher faith which we profess in our dealings with alien races. Further, our own freedom is endangered by our having any relations with other peoples which are not based on their consent, or on their acquiescence in our rule as expressed by obedience to the law.

Some of the varied races of our Empire, and all the negroid races who have never in history made any advance, live under conceptions of social life so primitive that we must look forward to governing them for a long time, if not for always, by the expression of absolute authority apart from any question of just law. The result in itself may not matter. Our rule may be just or unjust, it may be intelligent or stupid according to the haphazard choice of a man and his digestion; but this rule of force over a subject people stands before us in open contrast to all the national and historical ideals of England, flouting freedom and self-government. It is a temptation to apply to the minorities of our own free peoples by coercion acts of various kinds (and don't forget that we are increasingly doing it), the military methods by which, if we deem it necessary for our safety and progress to hold them in subjection, we must in the last resort control this immense mass of alien races.

STUDIES IN EMPIRE AND TRADE

CHAPTER I

THE SCANDINAVIANS

Section I. The Viking Trader in Europe

We must bear in mind that in these very early days, away from Rome and her imitators, whether on the continent or in the islands, away from Egbert of England the Basileus, whose authority was probably far more effective in the records than in the reality, there was, except for the unity brought about by some momentary danger, no such thing as national life. Government was the extremest application of home rule. Society was composed of a great number of very small, jealously independent units, obstinately unwilling to make any combination under authority, unless in the face of most imperative necessity, and then generally too late. Each chief administered the territory of his tribe and defended it against all others, being absolutely independent in his action in normal times. It is upon such a society that the whole force of the raids of the Scandinavian seamen (800–1100) descend.

With the visits of the Northmen for commerce and their raids for booty which accompanied them, our entrance into European commercial life may be said to have begun. We touch on trade.

The conditions of violence and disorder which accompany the coming of the Northmen, conditions such as always occur where the strange traders are beyond the control of their own rulers and are too strong and well

armed to be restrained in their dealings with the people of the country, can be matched throughout our history from our own operations with other peoples in all times and in all parts of the world. But trade is of the first importance, though the monastic records seldom speak of the Northmen as traders. It is of the very essence of the incursions of the Northmen, the plausible cause, and in the first instance the actual cause of their coming. It sometimes leads to violence and plunder, sometimes is the cloak and excuse for it. For instance, in 845 a band of armed Scandinavian traders attended the fair of Roscrea in Tipperary, with intent under the excuse of trade to plunder the fair. The Irish merchants were ready for them, and in the struggle overpowered the raiders.

It is difficult to see how at any time even the most sporadic raids could be repelled, or any disorder or violence met until the Northmen came in force for conquest. The local chief who would be responsible could make no preparations against attack. He could have no knowledge of the probable point of attack or of the force to be repelled. When he did know of the approach of the Northmen he must in the first instance expect and suppose that they had come as traders to barter to the great advantage of his people, and he would be careful not to provoke a conflict which might disturb trade, especially as the traders always went in a body heavily armed and prepared for trouble.

If the sub-king in Kent asked assistance of his overlord in the west or north, the Northmen, by the time the slow aid had arrived, would have sped to the Liffey or the Seine or the Humber.

The Viking trader was in a similar position to the European seamen of the sixteenth century who traded with and raided the coasts of Asia, Africa, and America, including the seamen who built up our Indian possessions.[1] All such adventure began in the first instance with barter, whether accompanied by violence or not, leading to settlement as the foreign trader fortified depôts for his goods in the territory over which he traded and fought, like the Hansa at the Guildhall in London and Bergen and the Europeans in the East in later times. It led finally to

conquest if the trading Northmen thought it to their advantage, or felt themselves compelled to it for their own protection as traders.

When the Viking traders rebelled against the local authority, the king, if he succeeded in subduing their revolt, did not turn the intruders out of their fortresses or out of the country any more than the Mogul in India drove away offending Europeans in the seventeenth century after he had mulcted them for disorder and robbery. Their trade was too valuable to lose. He did not further interfere with them except to require a rent in cattle and an acknowledgment of his authority.

Accompanying the disorder and trade the fortified factories remained in the hands of the Northmen with the consent of the kings, for whom they acted as mercenaries in war. When Strongbow and Henry II come to Ireland in the twelfth century they have to fight these men in armour who are still in possession of their fortresses in Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick.

For a student of empire the movements of the Northmen are of more interest, except for the Crusades, than any other happenings in our history until, in the fifteenth century, the Portuguese seamen set out to find a way to the East round Africa.

The effect on the islands of their immigration and invasion was by very far greater than that of all the peoples who had preceded them. The Roman military occupation had only touched England; the Saxon and Angle had only occupied the eastern half of this; even of this half Alfred had early surrendered all north of Watling Street to the Northmen as the Danelaw. But every little island, every little bay in both islands, had seen the Northmen's ships, chaffered with them for goods, and heard their tales of fresh exploration and conquest. During the centuries of their outflow over the islands there must have assuredly been far more settlement and intermarriage than with any of their predecessors. It is probable that at the present day there is more Scandinavian blood in the islands than any other. Let us hope so.

They were most eminent traders, frequenting and dominating all the great fairs of Europe, bringing across Russia to the Baltic the riches of the East and distributing them among the Western peoples, or holding them in their storehouses for trade in the islands and ports of the North and West.

They were very great explorers. About the time at which we first hear of their expeditions to the islands they had explored the White Sea, conquered and occupied a large part of Russia, making a beginning of the Russian Empire, and, challenging the Atlantic and the Arctic seas in their little boats, had reached and settled successively Iceland (already discovered by Irishmen), Greenland, and some point on the American coast, possibly Massachusetts or Virginia, which they named Wineland. It was highly appropriate that the British airship in 1919 should fly direct by the northern route to America on the lines of the adventure of our Norse ancestors, and that the American should return from Wineland to Europe by the trail blazed by Columbus through Portugal and the Azores.

They were empire builders. They not only discovered new lands but they colonised the Faroes, Shetlands, Orkneys, Hebrides, and Man, and occupied the ports of Ireland. William the Norman, after Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, had failed in attempted conquest, brought his Northmen to England, and Robert Guiscard and Roger his brother built up a southern Norse kingdom in Apulia and Sicily. From these Italian possessions they seized the lands of the Eastern Emperor in Italy and Epirus, and threatened Constantinople itself. From Sicily Roger invaded Africa, taking Tunis and many other cities from the Mohammedan caliphs. From their time and from their example begins that outpouring of the European peoples on the world, the rivalry of adventure and enterprise which has never hitherto ceased. With the Northmen Rome-shadowed Europe awoke from its long sleep.

They were memorable fighters wherever fighting was to be found, acting as the mercenary soldiers of Europe,

whether in Ireland or in the East, supplying the body-guard of the Eastern emperors.

They are one of the very few European peoples who have left to us a literature untouched by Roman monastic influence; they practised like the troubadours of southern France a rhythmic poetry away from the Latin doggerel rhyme; they were possessed of a valuable body of advanced law, commercial and social.[2]

Beyond all, we owe to them directly our sea spirit of freedom and our free institutions. Though disciplined soldiers, they were, whether in their political forms or social habits, whether in their originals of our Parliament and jury law, or in familiarity of address and dislike of high-sounding titles, the most democratic of all early peoples.

With the coming of Theodore from Tarsus the Church of England, the Church of the Empire, takes its permanent shape; with the coming of the Northmen the State and its institutions begin to form themselves as they shall remain. With the Northmen begins the history of the British Empire. The story of their trading, settlement, and conquest has been already told, and need not be dwelt on. For England the chief authority is the Saxon Chronicle, which can be corrected from many passages in the Sagas and other sources; for Scotland the end of the story is told in the Hakonar Saga, and for Ireland there are various volumes of Irish Annals in the Rolls Series, the Four Masters and other Annals.

The period ends for England when, after the battles of Stamford Bridge and Hastings, the "pot-bellied Saxon," as Carlyle calls him, falls for a century under the rule of William and his Northmen of Rouen; for western Scotland by the battle of Largs; for Ireland by the epic battle of Clontarf in 1014, when the whole force of pagan Norway, joined by every soul who loved fight and plunder, gathered from all parts of the islands and from all their lairs in Northern Europe, and fell upon Dublin. Sigurd earl of the Orkneys, Brodar king of Man, and Olaf, son of the king of Norway, came with men from the Shetlands,

Orkneys, Hebrides, Skye, Galloway, Lewis, Cantyre, and Argyll; men from Cornwall and South Wales; from France, Flanders, Germany, Scandinavia, and North Humbria. Also merchants from France, "and Saxons and Britons and Romans."[3]

They were met on Good Friday, 1014, at Clontarf, near Dublin, by Brian, king of Ireland, and Malachi II, whom he had ousted from the kingship but who remained loyal to him, and after an all-day battle, one of the really great decisive fights of history, in which all the great leaders fell in a series of single combats, the Norsemen were completely routed and fled to their ships.

Clontarf proved the ruin of Ireland, which under Brian was drawing together in a strong confederation of tribes and kingdoms. Brian and all his sons and grandsons were killed in the battle, and the country fell back into tribal anarchy to await the invasion of Strongbow and Henry II. Otherwise nothing followed from the battle more than from Crecy or Poitiers or Agincourt. Sitric, the king of Dublin, continued to hold the fortress and pay his tribute of cows, and like Canute found it to his interest to become a Christian. With Canute in possession of Norway and Denmark and Wessex, and in alliance with Normandy through Emma, there was no longer any opening for Viking raids in the north. The stream of Norse adventure, so far as it does not extend beyond the Atlantic, is diverted to the Mediterranean and the East. So far as we are here concerned, Clontarf ends the period of the Scandinavian invasions. They may continue, but no longer in force; the German Hansa begins to substitute the peaceful penetration of trade for violence, and the pilgrimage and the commerce with the south and east following in its wake are telling for peace; the tendency is all towards the greater strength of the overlord, and the substitution of the empire for the tribe.

But the Scandinavian outburst had raised a spirit of adventure in Europe which continued to find a needed outlet after the Vikings had become Christian and ceased piracy. The outlet took the form of a vogue of pilgrimage

to holy places, to Rome and to Palestine. There had always been pilgrimage to the East, but now it increased. It became the fashion to go the grand tour by a regular route to the East, combining the promotion of trade with piety, pleasure, and plunder. The Christian Northmen were most prominent in following this fashion of pilgrimage, striving to outdo in splendour the princes of southern Europe, and plundering the coasts of the Mediterranean peoples on the way.

The pilgrimage combined with the requirements of trade led to the first attempt of the Western nations outside of the old Roman Empire at Constantinople at Imperial conquest in the East. It gave rise to the movement which taught the European peoples the value of united effort, and discovered to them the Continent of Asia.

Section II. Early Vikings in Java

Let us, before proceeding farther, give a fairly parallel illustration from the later history of the British Empire of these its earliest days; for the story of colonisation and empire is the same for all time; the motives which lead to it and the circumstances which attend it repeat themselves.

Professor Radhakmund Mookerji, in his "History of Indian Shipping Activity," reproduces from the famous sculptures of the temple of Borobodur a representation of a ship manned by Indian adventurers sailing to colonise Java. "In the year 75 A.D.," he writes, "a band of Hindu navigators set out from 'Kalinga.' Instead of plying within the usual limits of the bay of Bengal, they boldly ventured out into the open limitless expanse of the Indian Ocean and arrived at the island of Java." There they planted a colony, built towns, and developed trade for centuries between India and Java and taught the people their religion.

Then very many years later come the Northmen. "Ten Portuguese vessels," says the Malayan history,

"arrived at Malacca from Manila for the purpose of trade during the reign of Sultan Ahmed Shah, at a time when the country possessed an extensive commerce and everything was in abundance. For forty days the Portuguese ships traded at Malacca; but still the Portuguese commander remained on shore presenting dollars by the chest and gold; and how many beautiful cloths did they present the illustrious Ahmed Shah, so that the Sultan was most happy." The Sultan asked the commander, "What more do you require from us that you present such rich presents?" The Portuguese answered, "We wish to request a small piece of ground to the extent of what the skin of a beast may cover." It was granted, and "the Portuguese landed, bringing with them spades, bricks, and mortar. The commander then took the skin of the beast and having rent it into cores measured out four sides," within which the Portuguese built a fort, leaving large square holes in walls for guns, and in answer to inquiry, "They are the openings that the white men require for windows." Then they brought in cannon and small arms packed in chests, saying that their contents were clothes.

Next, when all their arms were in order, at midnight they attacked, firing on and destroying the houses of the Javanese, and the Sultan with his people fled. The Portuguese took possession of Malacca.

After some years a Dutch vessel arrived at Malacca for trade, and after trading for fifteen days the captain sailed to Europe to give information to his government. He returned with twenty-five ships, and putting in at Bantam in Java, where the Dutch were on terms of friendship with the natives, to take in provisions and join other ships, they sailed to Malacca to attack the Portuguese. In this they twice failed and returned to Bantam.

The Dutch then sent a letter to the Sultan of Johore in terms of friendship, requesting his assistance in an attack. The Sultan agreed, and the allies attacked Malacca from land and sea for fifty days without success. "The Malays then held a consultation . . . it was agreed by all the

Malays that fifty men should enter the fort of Malacca and run amok. The Malays then selected a lucky day, and at five o'clock in the morning they entered the fort" and killed or drove out the Portuguese. The Dutch remained in possession of Malacca.

The Dutch made in the Indian Ocean and its archipelago a monopoly of trade for themselves. This the British unsuccessfully disputed for a long time, but when in later days the Dutch power declined, the British trade increased. When in the days of the Napoleonic wars Holland was controlled by Napoleon in the interests of France, in 1795 the British took possession of Malacca and Padang. These and the Moluccas were restored to the Dutch by the Peace of Amiens in 1802, but remained in the hands of the British. The next step was the conquest of Java by the British in 1811.

This brought to the front a great man, Sir Stamford Raffles. When in 1818 the politicians in England gave back Java to the Dutch, he saved the East Indian possessions. The Dutch had at once set to work to leave no salient point from which the British could control trade in the archipelago. They brought to Java a large force of men and a considerable navy, and took possession of all parts of the islands.

There followed a transaction which reminds one of the cause of Claudius's invasion of Britain and Henry II's invasion of Ireland. Raffles had determined to set up a colony at Singapore, the island at the southern point of the Malay peninsula, unoccupied, but the occasional resort of pirates, an island subject to the Sultan of Johore. The Dutch had acknowledged a man whom they believed to be the Sultan, and assumed that they had a title through him. But Raffles found that there was an elder brother, who also had a title, and that in consequence of the dispute neither had been formally installed as Sultan. He took possession of Singapore, acknowledged this elder brother, and obtained a cession of the island. The Dutch government fought him over the matter, but failed, and on February 6, 1819, the settlement was founded. In 1819

it was a resort of pirates and a fishing village. In 1916 the merchant vessels cleared were 11,542, with a tonnage of 13,214,198, exclusive of a very much larger number of native craft of smaller tonnage. Singapore is a free port, no duties being levied on trade, except for opium, tobacco, spirits, wine, beer, and petroleum.

CHAPTER II

MEDIAEVAL SEAMANSHIP

The Norsemen were the most daring and reckless of seamen; in that alone they exampled the genius of the British islands; sailing without a compass in their little boats, no storms, no fogs, no icebergs, no hidden rocks deterred them from exploring strange coasts or unknown seas. This is written for a generation which, never having seen the flock of white-winged ships passing down Dover Straits after days of contrary winds,[1] will hardly realise the heroism of the Norsemen or of the European seamen who in the days of sailing ships followed their career of adventure and exploration.

The charts and books of instruction from which the sailor could learn his dangers—the periploi, rutters, and portulani—so far as they existed, were of the rudest form, and confined for the most part to the Mediterranean. They were made from actual voyages. It has been suggested that the "Odyssey" was a sailor's guide, like the "Periplus" of Scylax. The rocks and shoals and currents and tides and points of observation, often inaccurately depicted, represented only the partial experience gained by a succession of disasters.[2] The difficulty of carrying adequate supplies for any long voyage in their tiny vessels always threatened famine and thirst;[3] the danger from fire, from leaks, from the sprung mast or broken rudder was imminent, and the means of executing repairs in case of injury scanty. Mutiny, piracy, war, and slavery waited on the seaman. In times when the means in the hands of authority on land for dealing with crime were weak and exceptional, the sea was absolutely lawless. The sailor

himself, dependent on his own powers of offence for safety, regarding all other peoples as enemies, was an incipient pirate and robber; the only answer to acts of piracy was retaliation; hardly a single record of voyages of adventure but tells of a mutiny or threat of mutiny, crushed, if not successful, by the violent despotic authority of a leader who has exceptional force and courage; the ship and crew were liable at any moment to be seized by the ruler of their own country for use in war against an enemy, or by an enemy country as prize of war; or in time of peace in reprisal for acts committed by other merchants; at any time capture might mean being sold into slavery if the captive was worth feeding, such slavery as we read of in the "Olaf Trygvasson" and other sagas; and often when the adventurer returned from his rash and dangerous enterprise in safety he received no reward, but was plundered by those at home of all that he had gained.

Here are a few examples of the hazards to which seamen of former times were exposed, which may help to bring home the spirit in which our seamen have built up the British Empire. I have not confined myself to examples from the islands, for courage at sea is not confined to Britain, nor to the records of any one century, for the difficulties and dangers which beset the sailor were the same, differing only in degree for the latest as for the earliest of those adventurers who have been dependent on winds only.

When the European peoples, led by the explorers of the Mediterranean nations, broke out upon the unknown East and newly discovered West, it is the long experience and the spirit that is behind it of our Scandinavian ancestors which give advantage to the islanders in their little ships over the unwieldy carracks of the Portuguese and Spaniards at sea. It is all the more to the honour of these last that they showed us the way across the world in the face of fearful danger, and hampered by governments which subordinated all success in adventure to monopoly and a strangling federal organisation at home.

In April 1431 Pietro Quarini, a Venetian gentleman,

sailed in command of a merchant ship from Crete to Flanders with an extremely valuable cargo. After much rough weather and contrary winds, the ship, as she neared Cadiz, struck on some shoals, injuring her rudder and springing some leaks. They made Cadiz with much difficulty, and after unloading the whole cargo spent twenty-five days in refitting the ship. Venice and Genoa, being as usual at war, Quarini thought it wise to increase his crew to sixty-eight, and to stand well out to sea. As the result of contrary winds he was carried in forty-five days towards the coast of the Canaries. Provisions began to run short and the coast was unknown and dangerous. Luckily in time the wind shifted and, although the ironwork of the rudder broke, they made Lisbon on August 29.

They set out again on September 14, and at first were carried by a favourable wind towards Flanders. But the wind again changed, and under heavy gales and high seas the ship was driven past the Scilly Islands and drifted westward away from land, the rudder being again broken off and dragged behind them for some three hundred miles. Quarini rationed his crew and made repeated efforts to repair the rudder. The ship took in so much water from the great seas that the crew were forced to spend their days baling her out, standing up to their waists in water. At length in December, the ship being quite unmanageable, the crew abandoned her and her valuable cargo and took to two boats, being at that time as they judged some seven hundred miles to the west of Ireland. The one boat disappeared; the men in the other, after enduring intense suffering from cold, wet, hunger and thirst, after an estimated run of two thousand five hundred miles, in the course of which twenty-six of the men in the boat perished, ran aground on January 4, 1432, on a barren rock to the extreme north of the west coast of Norway within the Arctic circle. The boat was staved in by the rocks, so that they were unable to leave their refuge. But they found a hut, where for many days they lived upon mussels and seaweed, tormented by vermin, daily growing weaker and more hopeless of delivery. Then some fishermen who

lived upon a rock some eight miles distant happened to come to the island to look for cattle. Such of the seamen as survived were carried by them to the mainland, and when they had a little recovered were sent south to Drontheim. Here they were advised, as Norway and Germany were at war, to go to a Venetian living in Sweden, a journey of fifty-three days. Through him they obtained passages to Ely in England, to London, and reached Venice on October 5, 1432.

When in the days of the Tudors the islanders followed the example in expansion of the Mediterranean people, they took at first the same line of exploration as their Norse ancestors to the north and west, exploring the northern coasts of America and adventuring alike in the Arctic Seas west and east to discover a route to the Spice Islands of the Pacific which would not collide with the pretensions of the Spaniards and Portuguese. They disputed, under Elizabeth boldly, and under James and Charles with the timidity born of Stuart rule, the right of the Spaniard or Portuguese to monopolise the tropical world. But on the part of the ruler it was always a half-hearted venture, to be disowned if likely to lead to trouble, and to be explained conveniently. Not so the expeditions in the northern seas, whether to Archangel or Davis Strait or Newfoundland or Virginia. A fair example of the dangers to be encountered in these regions and of the spirit in which they were met is the oft-quoted account of the expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert to North America in 1583, with five small ships manned by 260 colonists of all kinds, to take possession in Elizabeth's name of new lands.

The *Raleigh* of 200 tons, by far the largest ship of the fleet, very soon abandoned the expedition on a plea of the sickness of her crew. In the fog, which seems to have been incessant in the North Atlantic, the *Swallow* of 40 tons and the *Squirrel* of 10 tons separated from Gilbert and his two remaining ships.

In the *Delight* of 120 tons, accompanied by the *Golden Hind* of 40 tons, the only ship that survived the expedition, Gilbert, after many days of dense fogs and icebergs and

stormy seas, found the missing ships in Newfoundland, the *Swallow* in Conception Bay and the *Squirrel* at St. John's. The crew of the *Swallow*, composed no doubt of the swaggering cutthroats of those times, had taken to piracy, and had been pillaging French ships.

On arriving at St. John's, Gilbert took possession in the Queen's name of one hundred square leagues of the New found land as a colony, and prepared to organise colonial life and to begin cultivation. But many of the men of the expedition had no turn for the hard life of a colonist in that bleak region. "Some of our people stole into the woods to hide themselves, attending time and means to return home by such shipping as daily departed from the coast. Some were sick of fluxes and many dead." The best and most loyal men pleaded to return home and Gilbert was compelled to give way. He left the *Swallow* behind and insisted on going home himself as an example for others in the little *Squirrel* of 10 tons, the *Golden Hind* accompanying him.

The crew of the *Swallow*, transferred to the *Delight*, had proved mutinous and careless, and a hard gale coming on with a thick fog she struck on rocks and went to pieces. The captain, urged to leave the ship, refused to set the example of desertion, one of a long list of many such British officers. A few escaped in a boat, but the tempest was so vehement that no ship could carry sail, and the boat, which had only one oar, was of inconsiderable size. After drifting for seven days without provisions or water in terrible weather, they made land, being so weak that it was with great difficulty that they could help each other out of the boat. They wandered along the shore, living on berries and such food until they fell in with a Spanish whaler, which took them to a port in northern Spain, from which they made their escape to England.

Meanwhile the *Golden Hind*, and the little *Squirrel* with Gilbert on board, after beating about for some time in hope of better weather, set sail for England. The stormy seas did not get any more smooth; on the 9th of September in the afternoon the frigate, as the account calls the 10-ton

Squirrel, was nearly foundered but recovered, and "giving forth signs of joy the General (Gilbert), sitting abaft with a book in his hand, cried out to us in the *Hind* so oft as we did approach within hearing: Take courage, we are as near to heaven by sea as by land." But at midnight of the same night the men in the *Golden Hind* saw the lights of the little ship extinguished, and the frigate was "devoured and swallowed up by the sea." The *Golden Hind*, the one little ship of 40 tons, alone returned home.

The attempts made by Dutch, English, French, and Scandinavians to reach the East Indies by a North-East passage by Nova Zembla and Spitzbergen make a sad story filled with the deaths by starvation, by freezing, and by wild beasts, of men of great courage who vainly gave their lives in the desperate adventure.

When the islanders follow the Portuguese and Spaniards over the world to the Indies East and West, the same hazards and sufferings attend their importunity of nature. They can profit, it is true, from the hard experience of their precursors and rivals, but in unknown latitudes and uncharted seas they meet with the same rocks and shoals and storms and perils of hunger and nakedness as they had experienced in the Northern latitudes. And in the place of ice and snow and darkness they face the deadly danger of the tropical hurricane, the simoon. Yet here the long experience of danger and the spirit that was behind it, which animated their Scandinavian ancestors, lightened their labours.

When Linschoten, the Dutchman, in 1585 is struggling in the great Portuguese carrack, the *Santa Maria*, to get round the Cape of Good Hope from India, he tells us that the captain "marvelled at nothing so much as why our Lord God suffered them (the Portuguese), being so good Christians and Catholics as they were, to pass the Cape with so great torments and dangerous weather, having so great and strong ships, and that the Englishmen, being heretics and blasphemers of God with so small and weak vessels, passed the Cape so easily." He was wrong. The soul of the heretic was ruled by the saying of the old mariner,

who, when the crew cried out in their despair of safety, "Well, God mend all!" answered, "Nay, but we must help Him to mend it," and by his determined energy saved the ship. They had learnt their seamanship and with it their fearlessness from the Norsemen.

Yet to the last the dangers attending the sailing-ship were terrible. Writing in 1899 of the rocks on the coast of the Bight of Benin in West Africa, Miss Mary Kingsley [4] says: "These Manna rocks are a jolly bad lot, black and only a few breaking, and there is a shoal bank to the south-east of these for half a mile, then for the next half mile there are not more than seventy hull openers to the acre. Most of them are not set down on the chart. The character of the rocks—their being submerged for the most part and pinnacles—increases the danger considerably." Why do not sailors avoid such a desperate coast? "In the old sailing-ship days," she says, "if you ran out to sea far from these shoals you lost your wind, and maybe it would take you five mortal weeks to go from Sierra Leone to Cape Mount, or Wash Congo, as the natives called it in the seventeenth century."

On Linschoten's voyage in the *Santa Maria* [5] he notes passing the wreckage of dead men, masts and boards and rich freightage of the great ship the *St. Thomas*, which foundered trying to pass the Cape in the teeth of a violent westerly gale. The *Santa Maria* set sail from India on January 1, and it was only on April 23 that she passed the Cape, having crossed the equinoctial line on January 30, and close to the Cape on February 3. They met with the most terrible storms, "so that our rudder staff broke and two more that we had in the ship one after another being put into it broke likewise with the pin and the joint wherein the end of the rudder hung; and we were forced to lie and drive without steering (for two days and nights), having stricken all our sails, and the ship so tossed by the waves on all sides that we had not one dry place in all the ship." Later on, "we were compelled to throw our great boat overboard with all the chests, pots, and vessels that stood upon the hatches with other wares such as came first

to hand." Their great dread was that they should "fall into the wind," in which case they would almost certainly have foundered. As it was, the sea following them broke over the great ship, filling the hatches so that they were compelled to keep the pumps going day and night, while a number of men held the rudder and others the ropes of the sails, so that her head might be kept straight to the sea.

Of all the dangers of the tropical seas none could have been worse for the sailing-ship than the sudden hurricane. Its general character and effects are described for the West Indies in the seventeenth century by Dampier in his "Discourse of the Winds." His ship had been made fast with all possible cables and anchors in a sheltered bay, and then the crew went on shore. When the storm came the captain and crew went to a planter's hut, of which the roof was speedily blown off. When after the storm they went to view the ship she was found lying on her side with the top of her mast sticking in the sand. All the goods in the hold were washed out, and the sugar washed out of the cask. The casks of rum were found in various places, one half a mile away in the woods. Other ships were found in equally strange positions, lifted up on rocks or carried inland; the trees were torn up by the roots, their leaves torn off, and the shore strewn with wreckage, fish, even such as sharks and porpoises, and birds of all kinds.

The experience of an English ship in such a hurricane is told in the story of the wreck of the *Sea Venture*. In June 1609 a fleet of nine ships left Plymouth for Virginia. On July 24 they fell into a hurricane from the north-east, which continued for four days. "The storm," says the narrator, "seemed to extinguish all the light of heaven and leave utter darkness. It is impossible to express the noise and outcries that were heard; our sails were close clewed up: if we showed only a reefed foresail to guide the vessel, six and sometimes eight men were not enough to steer her. It did not rain but poured." A dangerous leak sprung at the beginning of the storm, and the water rose five feet above her ballast. For three days and nights

all were put to the pumps and buckets to save the ship. Once an immense sea broke over the ship and filled her from stem to stern, sweeping away the helmsman. They could get at no fresh water or light a fire to cook meat. At length the ship grounded on a reef three-fourths of a mile from one of the Bermuda islands. The crew were saved in the boats, and out of the wreckage contrived a boat in which after some months they reached Virginia. Their stay on the islands was marked by the usual conspiracies and mutinies, and when they reached Virginia it was to find the colony in so distressed a state that it was breaking up. Happily just as they arrived came Lord Delaware, sent out from England to re-establish it.

A most impressive description of a simoon in the East Indies in the last quarter of the nineteenth century will be found in Sir William Butler's Autobiography (p. 36). He was voyaging in a sailing vessel of war, a transport between Burmah and the Andaman Islands. "A couple of hours later the full crash of the hurricane came. No one can ever describe such a scene accurately. There are things in it which, when put into words, are bound to appear exaggerations. There is no sea and no sky and no air. They have all become one vast black solid gigantic animal, compared to which the lion is a lamb, the whale a minnow, the largest cannon a child's popgun. There is no sea running as in an ordinary storm; beneath this awful wind the sea crouches for a time like a lashed hound, and that is exactly what it is. It cannot get up and run before that vast wall of wind. It lies down at first, and the wind mows it like grass, shaves it off in swathes of white foam, which are caught up into the rushing wind itself, so that no eye can open against it, and no face can taste its saltness. But the roar is the thing that lives longest in memory; it seems to swallow even the thunder, as though that too, like the sea, had been brayed into it.

"As the night wore on the damage grew; there was no attempt made to take in sail, and one by one they were blown away into the night. The ship was then put before the wind, and we ran as the hurricane listed. No man

could stand on the poop deck, and on our quarter deck the rolling of the vessel set the guns free from their lashings and caused them to go rolling from one side of the deck to the other, until they broke through the bulwarks and shot out into the sea. The chain cable also got adrift on the deck, and began to roll its immense links from side to side as the ship lurched to and fro. Our boats, too, were torn from their davits, one wave carrying away the long boat and some live stock that were penned within it. Towards morning the upper foremast went with a great crash, and the wreck of it could not be cleared." The narrative ends, "when daylight came it was seen that the hurricane was going down as quickly as it had arisen. There was one man who had fought the elements undauntedly throughout that long night, Salmon, the second officer. He had lashed himself securely to the mizzen mast before the worst came, and from there he called his orders to the steersman. Undoubtedly he saved the ship."

When our history leaves the bold Norse seamen, for whose adventurous spirit no worlds were too remote and no seas too stormy, we pass south to the Crusades. As the period of European history which begins with them concerns itself for us (until the Latin nations find the way to the East by sea round the Cape of Good Hope and discover for us the new world in the West) mainly with the Mediterranean Sea, a modern description of voyaging in that sea may be of interest. It not only discloses a seamanship which is in strong contrast to that of the heroic adventurers in the Atlantic and Pacific, but it touches on the social relations of the seamen and traders by sea before the great companies made their ventures outside the Mediterranean.

Kinglake, writing in "Eothen" of a short voyage made by him in the Levant, says of the Greek mariners: "There is no good ground for saying that the development of the true character belonging to Greek mariners is prevented by the dominion of the Ottoman." They had the tradition of greatness, of freedom, and of literary and artistic wealth wanting to the cities outside Italy and Spain. "These

men are free, too, from the power of the great capitalist—a power more withering than despotism itself to the enterprises of humble venturers. The capital employed is supplied by those whose labour is to render it productive; the crew receives no wages, but all have a share in the venture, and in general, I believe, they are the owners of the whole freight; they choose a captain, to whom they entrust just enough power to keep the vessel on her course in fine weather, but not quite enough for a gale of wind; they also elect a cook and a mate; the cook whom we had on board was particularly careful about the ship's reckoning, and when, under the influence of the keen sea breezes, we grew fondly expectant of an instant dinner, the great author of pilafs would be standing on deck with an ancient quadrant in his hands, calmly affecting to take an observation. But then to make up for this the captain would be exercising a controlling influence over the soup, so that all in the end went well."

Of the mate he says: "One of his principal duties seemed to be that of acting as counter captain or leader of the opposition, denouncing the first symptoms of tyranny, and protecting even the cabin-boy from oppression. . . . It blew hard and there was a heavy sea running. By holding on the course the ship was soon to get into smooth water." But Kinglake's account says: "As the grounds for alarm arose, the crew gathered together in one close group . . . anxiously looking by turns along the pathway of the storm, and then upon each other, and then upon the eyes of the captain who stood by the helmsman. Presently the mate came aft, the bearer of a fierce remonstrance against continuing the struggle; he received a resolute answer, and still we held our course. . . . Then a heavy sea struck the ship. . . . But where were the crew? It was a crew no longer, but rather a gathering of Greek citizens: the shout of the seamen was changed for the murmuring of the people—the spirit of old Demos was alive. The men came aft in a body, and loudly asked that the vessel should be put about, and that the storm be no longer tempted. Now, then, for speeches:" and Kinglake

gives that of the captain as if he himself had been Matthew Paris. Then after much wavering "brave thoughts winged on Grecian words gained their natural mastery over terror; the brigantine held on her course and reached smooth water at last." These seamen, he says, "like their forefathers, rely upon no winds unless they are right astern or on the quarter; they rarely go on a wind if it blows at all fresh."

CHAPTER III

PILGRIMAGE AND THE CRUSADES

Section I. The First Crusade

The Holy Land had been since 668 in the hands of the Saracens, civilised rulers, who had placed few restrictions in the way of the pilgrims who from the time of Constantine and Helena had flocked to Jerusalem. But when the Turk, at first their slave, had overthrown the dynasty of Baghdad and in 1073 took the place of the Saracen, there began to be bitter complaints of the treatment of pilgrims. Many causes contributed to bring about the Crusades, but the reports of ill treatment of pilgrims were the chief cause, for by the time of the first Crusade the vogue of pilgrimage had grown to enormous proportions, and as pilgrimage and trade were closely interwoven and reacted on each other the interference in this respect was being severely felt.

It is an example of the tendencies of empire that the pre-eminence of the Papacy came with the Crusades, and that the need for unity, the subordination to a common authority, even grew with their ill success. Not infrequently they became an agency of papal tyranny. When a Western king questioned papal authority or committed some offence for which penance could be inflicted, he could be commanded or induced to satisfy Heaven by a Crusade in lieu of pilgrimage. The object of the attack might be heretics at home, such as the Albigenses, or the Aragonese rather than the more dangerous Turk

In 1096 Peter the Hermit, returning from Palestine with stories of the ill treatment of pilgrims, preached the first Crusade. Pope Urban II held a great Council at

Clermont in Auvergne, making an eloquent sermon urging a Crusade to rescue the Holy Places from the hands of the infidel. His hearers were carried away by enthusiasm and arranged at once for an expedition which should start in the spring. But the mass of the people, whose minds had been touched by an idea, had not the patience to wait for any organised expedition or for a future spring. A vast multitude, numbered in report by millions, mostly on foot led by Peter, set out for the East, of whom barely a third reached Constantinople.

Europe, accepting the military system which has been called feudalism, was moving towards greater unity; it was improving in military efficiency; but in all other respects it remained as unchanging and as stationary as under the communal form of life. The mode of living was the same, and the Church, controlling science and art and all the avenues of thought, frowning on and punishing unorthodox thinking, checked any independent inquiry, which might conflict with its stationary theories.

But movement was in the air, especially when 1000 A.D. comes and passes without the expected end of the world. Then all society, released from its immediate hopes and fears, gives itself up without restraint to the bettering or worsing of the world. The preaching of the first Crusade comes like the breaking of a mighty dam that has held back a flood. The great men sell or mortgage their kingdoms or dukedoms, the lesser men their castles and their baronies, for means to lead armies to the Holy Land. All the restraints which either communal or feudal society had placed on the movements of men go down before the lust of travel and adventure in the unknown world. Modes of evasion, such as Novel Disseisin, are invented to satisfy opposition to change. The manorial cultivation is rudely broken into, as successive Crusades, like a series of great waves, sweep off lord and labourer alike to the distant contest. The necessity for means to pay for subsistence in distant countries substituted to a great extent coin, and with it credit resting on the use of coin, for barter and payment in animals and cumbrous

products. " And everyone that was in distress and everyone that was in debt and everyone that was discontented " took the Cross and went East, living on the countries, and plundering and murdering the Christians in the lands through which their roads lay, and dying and being plundered and murdered in their turn by the peoples of the lands.

When this horde of predatory locusts, " thousands meekly stealing," came down upon the wealthy city of Constantinople, the clearing-house for the trade of the East, the centre of the exhausted Eastern Empire, always fighting for its life and for the life of Europe against Pagan and Moslem enemies, from the North-East and South, it is small wonder that the Eastern Emperor sternly passed on the mixed crew of penniless fanatics and broken men, and used severe police measures to protect the peoples subject to him. From now on, for more than a century, he has to police his territories against recurring swarms of these saunterers from the West. In the spring the much smaller organised expeditions set forth.

Out of the confusion came both material and spiritual advantage for Europe. The first Crusade, the only Crusade which had any suggestion of spiritual or religious intent, the only Crusade which attained the ultimate object, resulted after much error and failure in the capture of Jerusalem, and the establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem and of the Christian outposts of Antioch, Edessa, and others from which missionaries and traders pushed forth into the East. From this time the Christian nations of Europe look out into the East and South as for offence and not defence against the stronger peoples. The whole social system at home was shaken to its foundations ; all relations of living needed to be reconsidered ; the lord and the tenant, the chief and the follower, the burgher and the trading pedlar, the scholar and the artisan henceforth looked on life from a different angle. Religion, now that Christian men had actually fought for and captured the Holy City, took on a new meaning in men's minds, a reality which before had hardly been.

In this expedition, though there might be many indi-

viduals who went from the isles, Britain was not officially represented. But the Crusade affected the minds of the islanders, and the fate of England was indirectly determined by the action of Robert, the eldest son of William the Conqueror, to whom his father had left the dukedom of Normandy. Robert, one of the heroes of the first Crusade, mortgaged his dukedom to his brother William II to obtain the means for the expedition, the agreement being that the survivor should obtain the dominions of both. William II died, leaving his brother Henry to succeed him, who, having once got a mortgagee's title to Normandy without a fight, did not give it up to the Crusader. After wars with Robert, he captured him in battle, and the Crusader died in prison. Normandy, seized by Henry, became for a long time the first outpost of the islands on the continent of Europe, and a convenient subject of dispute after it was lost for war between the kings of France and England. It was the beginning of our Empire.

It is a lesson that may well be learnt by those intending empire that the Eastern sovereignties of the Saracen failed from their decadent luxury and disuse of arms, causing them to fall under the domination of Tartar tribes whom they had themselves conquered, one set of Turks succeeding another, often assassinating while they pretended to acknowledge the Caliph. The Atabek Turks, who affected to be the subjects of the Abbaside Caliphs of Baghdad, stormed Edessa in 1144 under a chief Zenghi, drove back the Europeans to the Euphrates, and weakened in every direction the infant kingdoms of the Crusaders. So low had the fortunes of these kingdoms fallen under the hammer blows of the Turks that a new Crusade was preached by St. Bernard in 1147 to Louis VII and to Conrad, emperor of Germany.

About the time of this second Crusade, a Norse earl from the Orkneys undertook a pilgrimage which is worth quoting as an example of the nature of the pilgrimage and the character of the pilgrims, for whose benefit the Crusades were undertaken. This one imitates in its magnificence the pilgrimage of Sigurd the Crusader, king of Norway,

who went in 1107 with sixty ships, making a prolonged stay at the court of Henry I of England on his way. The story is told in the "Orkneyinga Saga."[1] It is impossible to speak with any certainty as to the accuracy of the details. Like all stories in all times, the Sagas undoubtedly accumulate matter as the story leaves the lips and is written down. But there is no reason to question its main features.

Section II. Earl Rognwald's Pilgrimage

Rognwald, earl of the Orkneys, had gone in 1148 with the chapmen, the traders who carried goods between Norway and the Isles, to Bergen to visit King Ingi of Norway, his overlord. There he found staying with King Ingi one, Eindrid the Young, who had just come from Constantinople, where, according to a common custom in those days, he had been in the emperor's service as one of the guards.

Telling travellers' stories of the wonders of the East, he urged the earl to lead an expedition to the Holy Land. As they discussed the matter many chiefs agreed to go with him when the time should come.

When he returned from Norway, King Ingi gave the earl two ships, small but beautifully built, in which he and his friends set out to return to the Orkneys. But the weather was foul and stormy, and one night in the dark they found themselves among the breakers, and they could do nothing but sail on and dash the ships to pieces, which they did. The men were saved, but they lost many goods.

In the face of the danger the earl was merry, and following the custom of the Norse leaders, made verses and sang songs to keep up the hearts of his men. The land turned out to be the Shetlands. After staying there for some time they returned to the Orkneys. Here the earl held his Christmas feast, and entertained as a guest Bishop William of the Orkneys. He persuaded the bishop to go with them to Jewry, for the bishop was a Paris clerk, and they looked to him to be the interpreter for them with the Mediterranean peoples.

They were not fully ready for the voyage until the spring of 1151. After holding a Thing, at which the earl gave over the management of his realm to his foster son, Earl Harold Maddad's son, the expedition sailed south with fifteen big ships. In the list of the captains of the ships are Earl Rognwald, Bishop William, Erling Wryneck, Eindred the Young, and John Limpleg. Other chiefs are Thorgeir Scotpoll, Oddi the Little, Thorbion the Swarthy, and Thorkel Crookeye.

They land at a place called Nerbon, possibly Bilbao, where the ruler had lately died, leaving a fair daughter Ermingerd, who entertains the earl and his men, she handing them wine, while her maidens dance before him. The townsmen wish the earl to marry their young mistress, but he puts them off saying that he would see to it on his return.

Then they come to "Galicia-land" in Spain, and try to make terms with the people of the land for food. Food is scarce, and the terms of the inhabitants are that in return for it the earl and his men should rid them of a stranger named Godfrey who had built a castle there, and from his castle had oppressed the people. Rognwald and his men, ready for any kind of fray or plunder, agree. They discuss how they can storm the castle; it is proposed that they should carry bundles of faggots to be piled against the walls, thinking to split the limestone if a great fire is put to it.

Godfrey, who is described as a "wise man, a good clerk, and had fared far and wide and knew many tongues," hearing of their proposal, puts on old clothes and goes into the camp as an old Spanish beggar. He takes advantage of dissensions among the Norsemen, and wins Eindrid privately over to his side, offering him bribes to ensure his safety.

Meanwhile when they were ready the Norsemen carried out their plans; the earl and his men shot into the castle, and the defenders on the wall replied with burning pitch and brimstone; the hot fire crumbled the limestone and, pressing through the breaches made, they stormed the castle. During the lull in the storm, while they were wait-

ing for the stones to cool, the earl and other scalds composed and sang verses in Scandinavian fashion. They found little of value in the castle, for under cover of the smoke Eindrid had aided Godfrey to escape with his treasure.

Then they harried that part of Spain occupied by the Saracens, taking much booty. Passing by Gibraltar they came to Sardinia, where Eindrid left them for Marseilles with six ships. They did not see him again until they meet in Constantinople.

They lie for a time in a fog. When it lifts they see a huge ship called a Dromond, in the style of the Phœnician ships which fought against Cæsar in the sea of Morbihan, "ships big as holms to look upon," and they consult how they shall attack her. They do not inquire whether she is Saracen or Christian, friend or foe; they guess her to be a trader and to be Saracen, which turns out to be correct.

They rowed towards the Dromond, and the men on the Dromond, when they saw them rowing, brought out silken stuffs and costly goods on the bulwarks and shouted at them which the Norsemen interpreted as acts of defiance, a safe guess as they did not know the language.

The Norsemen laid their boats alongside around the ship, but the sides were so high out of the water that they could not reach up with their weapons, while the enemy poured down brimstone and flaming pitch on to them. Then the bishop shoved off his ship with two others and, rowing away to a little distance, shot at the men on the decks of the Dromond until they took cover from the arrows. While their attention was so taken up the earl and his men with axes cut into the sides of the ship, until they made holes large enough to enable them to board, some men standing for this work on an anchor's stock which hung high up on the sides.

After a long and stout fight they cleared the decks and took the leader prisoner. The crew were Saracens with many blackamoors. When they had stripped the Dromond of her goods they set fire to her, and then they saw molten gold and silver flowing down the sides into the sea. They had not made a careful search.

They went to a town in Barbary and sold the prisoners to their own people. But no one would buy the leader, who was one of their princes, so they let him go and four men with him.

Thence they sailed to Crete, where they remained a long time waiting for a fair wind, and then to Acre, where they landed with much pomp. But here they suffered greatly from sickness and lost many men. After that they sought all the holiest places in Jewry. They went to the Jordan and bathed there, and the earl and another swam across and twisted knots in the brushwood on the bank and made and sang verses.

After that they fared back to Jerusalem and set out thence to go to Constantinople. On the way stopping at places which cannot be identified they got very drunk, and John Limpleg was murdered, and Erling Wryneck was thrown from the wharf into the mud. When they reached the Dardanelles they waited for a wind which would enable them to sail with their sails fully stretched, so that they might show the silk threads interwoven in the canvas, "and so sailed with great pomp, just as they had heard that Sigurd Jewry-farer had done."

They received a good welcome from the emperor at Constantinople, where they found Eindrid. Thence they sailed to Durazzo, and thence to Apulia, where the chiefs, leaving the ships, took horse and rode to Rome and thence to Denmark and so to Norway. Here the earl had no ships at his command but had to wait until he obtained a passage to the Orkneys for himself and his followers in the trading ship of an Icelander.

It stands to reason that in his absence the whole government of the Orkneys had fallen to pieces. When he came back he found a competitor earl in possession, and a civil war ensued between the three earls, Rognwald, his foster son and deputy Harold, and Earl Erland. The end of the trouble was the murder of Earl Rognwald in 1159 after he had made many efforts to smooth away the confusions caused by his absence.

Section III. The Second Crusade—Eleanor of Aquitaine

This second Crusade was far more disastrous than the first, ending in complete failure. But it had a most important influence on British history.

Eleanor, duchess of Aquitaine, at that time a practically independent province of France, in 1137 had married Louis VII. The marriage of the two territories was not a happy one, as their dispositions were wholly opposed, Louis, a highly religious and most business-like ruler, being no mate for the brilliant and accomplished queen of the country of the troubadours, given to the most joyous social life and unrestrained relations between the sexes. She accompanied her husband to the Crusades and offended him deeply by the freedom of her manner with her uncle Raymond of Toulouse, prince of Antioch, both of them coming home in mutual displeasure. She made the acquaintance of Henry, the son of Geoffrey of Anjou and of Matilda, the daughter of Henry I, when he came to Paris to do homage to Louis for Normandy.

In 1152 Eleanor obtained from the Pope a divorce from Louis on the ground of too close relationship—she was his second cousin—and six weeks later married Henry at Bordeaux.

In 1154 Stephen, king of England, died, and Henry and Eleanor were crowned at Westminster.

There now began an expansion from England which has sometimes been called the Angevin Empire, an expansion which had less to do with Anjou than with any other part subject to Henry. In his mother's right he was king of England and duke of Normandy, in his father's lord of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; he was to add to his possessions during his reign a suzerainty over Wales, Ireland, and Scotland south of the Grampians; but the key to all his power and wealth outside of southern England lay in the possessions which Eleanor brought him, viz., Poitou, Guienne, Gascony, and Toulouse, then the richest and most civilised part of western Europe outside of Italy, with an

immense commerce and a naval power centred at Bordeaux, a city so wealthy and prosperous that it is called the capital of England by a Nestorian monk who visits it from China in 1382.

The relations of all these feudal provinces to one another and to the king, who united them, was that of a loose confederation much like the relations of our colonies at the present day to one another and to the king of the Empire. They granted the king the customary revenues as the acknowledgment of his authority, and looked to him for his assistance in case of external war. But the barons of Aquitaine or of Normandy or Scotland had no more connection with the king's Council at Winchester than the colonial statesmen of Saskatchewan or Adelaide have with the Anglo-Scottish Coalition at Westminster to-day. They had their own "parlement" at Bordeaux and they made and observed their own customary law.

The barons, whether of Aquitaine, of Normandy, or of England, were intensely jealous of their own authority as against their suzerain, the confederation only holding by personal influence and the superiority of brute force, whether it was Louis as suzerain of Henry duke of Normandy, or Henry as suzerain of William the Lion of Scotland, or of any of the barons of England or princes of Wales or of Ireland. Henry never attempted to force a closer connection, but arranged for a division of his territories at his death among his sons, Richard being destined to receive his mother's inheritance of Aquitaine. When Henry died, his eldest son Henry the younger having died in his lifetime, Richard became king of England.

Section IV. The Kingdom of Jerusalem and its Fall

In 1187 Jerusalem had fallen again into the hands of the infidel. The weakness of the Christian kingdom had been veiled by the wars between the Abbaside caliphs of Baghdad and the Fatimites of Egypt with their Turkish masters. Godfrey of Bouillon, its great founder, had left

no children. The kingdom fell to two Baldwins in succession, his brother and cousin, then to Melisanda, the daughter of the second Baldwin, and her husband Fulk, count of Anjou, whose son Geoffrey by a former marriage was the father of our Henry II. These were followed by their two sons, Baldwin III and Amaury, and after these the son of Amaury, Baldwin IV, a leper. His son Baldwin V, a young child, died under suspicious circumstances, and his mother Sybilla, who had married Guy of Lusignan, a man of little esteem, made her husband king.

Saladin, a man of Kurdish race, an emir under the expiring Fatimite dynasty of Egypt, after a career of conquest in Arabia and Syria, took the opportunity of a breach of treaty by one of the crusading knights to attack the kingdom of Jerusalem. He besieged and took Tiberias, taking Guy of Lusignan prisoner. He then besieged and took Jerusalem, accepting ransom for Sybilla and the Christian inhabitants.

The complete conquest of the Latin kingdom was only checked by the arrival of Conrad of Montferrat, who undertook the defence of Tyre, to which the garrisons which had capitulated had been allowed to retire.

This was the beginning of the third Crusade, conducted in person by Frederic I (Barbarossa), emperor of Germany, who invaded the East by the overland route through Asia Minor, but was drowned in a small stream on his advance, by Philip Augustus, king of France, and by Richard I, king of England, who adopted the slightly easier method of a naval expedition.

Their expeditions were, however, so slow that, although Acre had been besieged by the Christians with the help of the navies of the Italian republics since July 1189, it was not until the spring of 1191 that the fleets of Richard and Philip reached the coast.

Richard had embarked his forces from Marseilles in the ships of that city. He and Philip had stayed for some time, ceaselessly quarrelling and on the edge of war, in Sicily. Richard then captured Cyprus, which he gave to Guy de Lusignan as compensation for the loss of Jerusalem.

When the two kings at length arrived at Acre, there followed a naval battle with the Moslem fleet.

The Crusaders' fleet, composed of war galleys, advanced against the Moslems drawn up in the shape of a half-moon, the best galleys being placed at the two ends. The rowers were on the lower decks, the soldiers being drawn up on the upper deck in a circle with their shields touching one another. First both sides threw their weapons furiously. Then the Christians rowed for their enemies with all speed, trying to ram them or swamp them. At close quarters they grappled, the personal force of the Crusaders deciding the battle in their favour.

After the naval victory the Crusaders besieged Acre, a place both for military and commercial reasons far more important than Jerusalem as controlling the trade routes to the East. After a long and obstinate defence it was taken. The historian of the Crusade tells us how the city was attacked by movable towers and rams which were destroyed by fire from the walls, by machines for throwing great stones, and by mining. The besiegers suffered from famine in the camp, and were reduced to eating horseflesh, bones, and grass, very great numbers dying from famine and disease accompanying it. On their march from Acre they ate the dead horses, which "fame vice salsamentorum condiente reputabant dulcissimam."

After the capture of Acre Louis VII went home. Richard carried on an active campaign on land, reducing the coast towns, which, for purposes of trade, were of far more importance than the possession of Jerusalem to the maritime republics of France and Italy, who were his allies. He did not retake Jerusalem, but left the Holy Land in 1192, making a treaty with Saladin for the protection of pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, and retaining the cities of the coast, which controlled the trade routes, in the hands of the Europeans.

On his way home he met with captivity in Austria, while his enemy Philip Augustus was intriguing with John to deprive him of his continental possessions.

After the first outburst of religious enthusiasm was

exhausted, the needy rulers of Western Europe used, as rulers always do, the generous impulses of the mass of people to make money. In 1188, for instance, after Henry II and Philip Augustus of France had vowed to take the Cross, Baldwin, the archbishop of Canterbury, went through Wales, preaching the Crusade, accompanied by Gerald de Barri, then Archdeacon of St. David's, who has left us a most delightful account of the tour. Under threat of excommunication in the event of disobedience, some three thousand Welshmen took the Cross, either going on the Crusade or paying to be excused.

In effect, except the first, the Crusades were great engines of finance both for the Papacy and for the kings who led the expeditions. The Church received pay to permit those who, under terror of excommunication, had promised to go, to remain at home and attend to their business, while the king, such as Richard I, raised a considerable revenue on the genuine religious feelings of his people by taking with him under penalties archbishops, bishops, abbots, barons, and officers of his Court, releasing and sending home from Sicily and other places on the road such of them as were willing to pay for dismissal, those who were poorer or more conscientious or more determined, such as Archbishop Baldwin and Ranulph Glanvil, leaving their bones in the Holy Land.

The remaining Crusades, which lasted fitfully for another hundred years, accomplished nothing for Christendom. But they did one very evil thing. The fourth Crusade, in 1204, was diverted from the recovery of the Holy Land, which only promised hard knocks and little plunder, to the destruction of the very wealthy Greek Empire. Constantinople was attacked and taken at the instance of the Venetians and the French, and a Latin government set up in accordance with the beliefs of the Roman Church. This lasted until 1261, when the Greek emperor, hopelessly weakened in his defence against the Tartar savages by this criminal act of the Western Crusaders, resumed possession of the once impregnable city.

In 1148 St. Louis of France went on a Crusade. He

sailed to Cyprus, where it was proposed that he should join with the Tartar Khan, who was really so much the greater danger to Europe, to overwhelm the Mohammedans, the Tartar pretending that he had embraced Christianity. But in the Crusade St. Louis was captured, and after his release, on a second Crusade, he died.

Above and beyond all the material results of the awakening came the sense of unity of the Christian nations in the face of the unknown East, giving to the Popes, under whose auspices they had been undertaken, a position of imperial autocracy over European thought and a power for accumulation of wealth by way of fees and by means of threats, which they used for centuries to their own advantage and to some extent for the advantage of the world. The Roman Empire of the Papacy dates from the day when Gregory VII suggested a Crusade.

CHAPTER IV

THE THEOCRATIC EMPIRES

Section I. The Papal Empire at its Height

The Papacy, during the first Crusades, and as a result of the movement which led to them, reached a dizzy height of power. Its empire over men's minds and actions satisfied one of the first essentials for permanence; it rested on moral force, on the power acquired by voluntary submission to its decisions, the imperial strength resulting from the consent of the governed. So long as the Papacy drew its strength from this source, so long it continued to maintain its supremacy over the lay rulers of Europe. When, by the acceptance of the territories of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, the Pope became a landowner, ruling his estates with a local army, he stepped down from the proud position of the arbiter of the destinies of Europe to become an Italian prince, a degradation from which he was only extricated when, in the nineteenth century, he became once more a power in Europe as the prisoner of the Vatican.

But the rediscovery of the East, for to such discovery the Crusades were equivalent, brought with it irreconcilable positions of thought on matters over which the Roman Papacy claimed and exercised supreme authority. Its pre-eminence for the moment was such that it was enabled to bend all human knowledge to agreement with the doctrines of the Western Church, and to use the secular powers to crush all opposition of opinion even on matters of scientific theory. The views of mankind on a variety of subjects on which change is not only desirable but unavoidable were made to square with the dogma of the

Church, unchanging and not always founded on true premises. Though successful for the moment, this vast increase of Church authority, reinforced by physical penalties, ready to be put into execution by fire and sword, was opposed to a steady growth of new facts which could not be ignored, and to a new spirit of society which would not give way or fit in with the declared views of the Church's leaders, though these might for the moment be all powerful.

It was not only the discovery of the great Greek literature; the Church could frown on Aristotle; it would be long enough before either churchmen or laymen of the West, with the rarest exceptions, could read or understand it; it was not the Arabian science, the medicine, the chemistry, the mathematics; they were the magic arts of infidels which could be forbidden or disparaged to churchmen; nor was it the Roman law which so greatly interfered with the study of theology; it could be silently incorporated in the Canon law. Of far more importance was the discovery of physical facts of geography, of anthropology, of zoology, the rediscovery of vast Eastern empires with a long historical record, a knowledge of winds and currents, data which threatened the whole conception of biblical history as taught by the Church.

It is a far cry yet to Prince Henry the Navigator, but enough was guessed and suggested to shake severely the theories held as to the earth's surface and its inhabitants. The discoveries of a new world by the Northmen could be disowned while they were pagan sailors, as the reports brought home from time to time by occasional pilgrims could be discredited as travellers' tales. But the Crusades, pressing home a knowledge of lands hitherto unknown, of men and habits hitherto unheard of, every succeeding year enlarging the boundaries of the known earth, tended to discredit the limitations of its flat surface imposed by the theologians. Ireland, as usual, was in the forefront of new ideas and ready to suffer for her faith. The Irish missionaries, who had never shown any leanings to Rome, had long ago used the freedom of their minds in such matters, one such heretic, Virgilius, an Irish missionary to

Carinthia, impudently asserting, in direct contempt of the orthodox opinion, that there was an antipodes, and that we walked on the heads of other people.

The Crusades contributed to this confusion of thought, not merely by calling for humility for Christian Europe, but indirectly by effecting a great revival of European trade in the Mediterranean and the East. The European traders and seamen fought the Saracen not only on land in the near East and in Asia, but on the sea.

The Crusades were the final expression of the fermentation which had been working in Western Europe for many centuries in the direction of greater unity of peoples and greater control by the more powerful rulers over the lesser, in an effort to replace the lost imperial power of Rome. The alliance between Pepin and Charlemagne and the Popes of their day, the increasing respect shown to the Papacy as arbiter of intertribal and international differences, the steady consolidation of authority, all led up to the international movement by which Western Europe, for the moment partially united, threw itself upon the East.

There being no lay power of physical superiority in the West which corresponded to the widespread traditional authority of the Eastern emperor at Byzantium, the Western princes grouped themselves for the purpose of this attack round the Roman Papacy as representing the supposed origin of their adventure, the moral force of Christianity in the West and the tradition of empire in the City of the Seven Hills.

Unfortunately the theocratic character given to the movement widened the rift between the two branches of the Christian Church in Europe. The Popes, so far from making any effort at smoothing over differences, exploited them in the interests of Rome; they took no pains to conceal their own hatred of the Eastern Church, or to soften the jealousy felt by the brave but rude levies of Western Europe for the careless magnificence of Byzantium, upheld by barbarous mercenaries of the tribal East and North. What might have been a successful counter-attack by

united Christianity upon the Oriental invaders of Europe, divided both in faith and arms, became degraded to a local and half-hearted defence of an Eastern outpost of the Western Church by feudal princes who looked to their Eastern possessions as affording them control of the caravan routes of Syria and Palestine and opportunities for enrichment by the opening of further trade with the East.

Then came the culminating crime of the West, when the French and Venetian Crusaders turned aside from their mission against the infidel and destroyed the Greek Christian Empire, and with it as far as possible the Greek Christian Church, putting in its place for nearly sixty years a bastard Roman kingdom at Constantinople with Roman doctrines.

Although the instinct for European unity and Christianity was the motive power behind the first Crusade, asserting for it the character of a religious movement, the immediate cause, as in all wars and similar outbreakings, lay in the disturbance of commercial and social relations.

Section II. East and West

The influence of the Crusades on Western Europe was profound. Except for the economic revolutions of modern times, the introduction of tea, coffee, and cocoa into Europe in the seventeenth century, and the use and perfection of the bicycle in the nineteenth to twentieth centuries, no cause of change, whether economic, political, or theological, has had results so far-reaching, so universally affecting current life in Europe, as the Crusades. They brought Europe into direct and permanent contact with the East. They represent the first great effort of Western Europe to check the advancing waves of the Moslem Empires which for several centuries, to the advantage of Roman ascendancy, had been overwhelming Eastern Christianity. They represent the advance guard of the invasion which in succeeding centuries was to reduce a great part of Asia under the political rule or influence of the European peoples. They represent, moreover, the tendency, always prominent

in all imperial or international movement, to substitute, as time goes on, advantages of trade, or seizure of territory, or greed for money, or satisfaction of vengeance for the high ideals which first induced the warlike adventure.

The contact between East and West took place—taking the date 1096 as the beginning of the movement, and 1261, the end of the Latin kingdom of Constantinople, as the close of any serious attack on the East[1]—just at the moment when Western Europe was beginning to shake itself out of its long sleep. The merchants and sea traders of the Mediterranean seaboard were organising expeditions for commerce and adventure towards the East. The revival of trade, stimulated by the exploits of the Northmen of Scandinavia, Normandy, and Apulia, and by the pilgrimage to holy places which was its concomitant, was moving the more advanced countries of Western Europe, those localities which concerned themselves with trade and wheat-growing, towards greater unity of peoples under one head in a larger combination, towards the commercial form of society in which the interests of the individual take the place of those of the community, as the unit of power and possession. But it was moving very slowly.

It was at this moment when the disunited European peoples, having no imperial centre to which to look for unity and obedience other than the spiritual overlordship of the Pope, or the far narrower and less generally respected assumption of imperial power in Germany, were beginning to effect national form, that they found themselves in conflict with a series of Asiatic empires. These were composed in great part of peoples who lived in the tribal formation previously described, from which Western Europe was moving, a formation which has never left the East, which attends us in all our dealings with people outside of Western Europe, which has revived in Russia in a modified form as the Soviet system. The Asiatic emperor, while his forces were organised for warfare under a system not unlike the feudalism of Europe, exercised authority over enormous tracts of waste lands in which the oases were inhabited by a variety of nomadic tribes.

Any unity achieved by the crusading nations was gained by their subordination to the Roman Papacy; and the advantage so gained was greatly offset in a contest between the Christian and Moslem theocracies by the jealousy shown by the warrior of Rome to the Christian ruler of Byzantium and the Christian Church of the East.

In equipment, in military organisation, the Moslems were fully the equals of the Western European; in all the arts and sciences they were easily his superiors; they were equally moved by an intense religious ferocity, worshipping the same one God with a difference; equally concerned for the profits of trade, which was for the most part in their hands.

So far as social organisation was concerned, the tribal character of the Eastern peoples was offset by the subordination to their military and theocratic head, avoiding the perpetual quarrels and bickerings which led to the downfall of the crusading kingdoms.

All the early attempts at federation outside of the Roman Empire suffer perpetual disorder and rebuff from the still dominant communal idea of the kinship of ruler and ruled, the unwillingness to obey the ruler akin to another people, not connected with the "best families" of those ruled. This human instinct cuts always across the grain of imperial rule. Many of the failures and troubles attributed to the weakness or wickedness of kings come from some lack of kinship and local association with the peoples over whom they rule. In the contest between Henry II and Philip, Richard, lord of Aquitaine, joining France against his father, draws the French province with him; the Bretons prefer Arthur, the grandson of the Breton Conan, to the stranger John. Robert Bruce, the Norman baron, with his Irish wife, can unite against Edward the barons of south-east Scotland with the ties of tribal blood in the west. The difficulties of Ireland have in great part resulted from the want of connection of native blood with the royal family such as exists for Scotland.

After the fall of Western Rome, the Greeks at Byzantium still preserved the idea of ancient empire, of the

one hereditary emperor ruling over many races and lands.[2] But even here, in fact, one great source of weakness which permitted the Latin conquest was that, except for the Greek at Byzantium, the collection of various peoples admitting the overlordship of the emperor and willing to pay for his protection from the men behind, had otherwise no tie of common interest. They were governed by their own customary laws, and for the most part by their own officials, and practised their own religions or fetish worship, much as Mesopotamia was governed by the Turks previous to our recent occupation. Except for this loose tie they were independent societies, not unlike some of our colonial dependencies, the French Canadians, the Boers of South Africa, the Maltese, no more concerned to defend the imperial power, which they paid for their protection, unless it suited them, than Northumbria was constrained to help Ethelred II against a Danish attack on Wessex, or Normandy to help Henry II against Scotland, or Aquitaine to help John to conquer Ireland, or Ireland or Man to help the Edwards against France or Flanders.

Our own Empire, in many respects very like that of Eastern Rome, follows the Roman precedent of allowing this loose connection with the outer possessions, permitting them to make their own laws and administer their own justice, always with the exception of Ireland. But—it is a very large "but"—there is this difference between the ancient and our present Empire, that although the emperor, as the only tie which held together the varied nationalities and races, corresponded to our own king, there was behind him no restraint on autocracy by the assembly of the people, no tradition of popular government. There was not in that Empire the influence which brought the Colonies to our side in the late great war, "the virtue of that great English tradition, the peculiar contribution to history of the real England, which places freedom first, and bases unity on the good will which springs from freedom."

The laws which, apart from local custom, governed the Greek Empire were the edicts of the emperor drawn by his experts,[3] and his powers of action in the fortress on

the Bosphorus were limited only by the force at his disposal or by the popular risings and rebellions which ever accompany autocratic rule. In our Constitution—and it is the secret of our imperial success and failure—the tradition of free government, of the free assembly representing the whole people behind the administrative acts, even when it may have fallen for the moment under the autocracy of a cabal in the assembly itself, attends the constitutional king and waits on the exercise of his power. Neither he nor those who act for him can ever become tyrant, so long as a truly representative assembly of the people is free to pass on acts of administration which impinge on freedom.

CHAPTER V

MEDIAEVAL TRADE

Section I. The Travelling Trader—Fairs

The communal society, the apostolic society of all in early times, the society outside Roman influence of the mediaeval world, the village made up of independent households of which the heads, under the presidency of the ruling elder or sheikh, form the Assembly, the society of recent, even present Russia, the society of the Russian Soviet,[1] the society with which we have to deal at present in Mesopotamia, in a large part of India, and in Africa, the society over which the king of the Hedjaz ruled, applies itself chiefly to the occupation of land for pasture or for agriculture. It is as far as possible self-supporting; only such articles as tar, iron, salt, and millstones are imported; trade from outside figures little in such a community. With agriculture and cattle-raising the whole family is associated as home industries participated in by all.

Trade looks to the individual, not to the family. The pedlar of slaves or chickens, the company promoter, the financial exploiter, has no social leaning, no family instinct to satisfy. The head of the family or clan no doubt ensures that there shall be no forestalling of bargains, that some of the profits of external trade shall come to him as representing the community, a claim which hardens into tolls and dues of all kinds as the individual supplants the family as the unit of society; and the natural instinct of man will always strive for a monopoly of gain. But trade, where society takes this communal form, the trade of the Middle Ages, the trade to-day for the most part of Asia and Africa, is satisfied by the alien traders who pass through

the country in their caravans, their companies, distributing their wares, encouraging exchange, travelling in groups for protection, always prepared to drop the scales for the sword on small provocation.

Such trade is carried on under conditions of disorder, often provoked by the merchant. The weakness of the communal society is shown by its inability, owing perhaps in some degree to limited means of transport, to suppress disorder and protect trade. It is not necessarily entirely disability. If the Mesopotamian chief does not put down disorder with the strong hand, it may be that, approving of local liberty, he does not look upon the official violence which we call "law and order" as being in any way profitable in its results either to himself or to the society over which he presides.

Trade is local in such societies, in the first instance only between village and village. So long as society presumes kinship it is passively hostile to the trading stranger. It produces for its own wants and exchanges any surplus for luxuries only. There are no rights arising out of kinship for the travelling merchant. He is *ab initio* a dangerous alien, dreaded and suspected and to be cheated if possible. His strength rests on his individual vigour, and on combination for protection by travelling and chaffering with fellow-merchants. For this reason it is to his interest to visit only such points as are frequented by many merchants. He is always a "profiteer." He gets all he can without regard to any supposed rights of a just price or other theories of Thomas Aquinas. He himself takes enormous risks; *caveat emptor.*

The danger apprehended from the wandering trader is shown by the provision in all early laws prohibiting the harbouring of a stranger for more than one night in the village or town.

Trade was not confined to the wandering pedlars. Great fairs arose, meetings of traders from all parts, at the historic centres under control of the federal ruler, such as London, Stourbridge, Telltown, Troyes, or Novgorod, or at places which were naturally convenient, where roads

or rivers met, or where rivers were crossed by bridges, or on the borders or territories where national affairs brought people together, as, for instance, on the Welsh borders under the protection of the march fortresses. Similar conditions will be found in the history of the Hudson Bay Company and the East India Company. There are frequent references to fairs and their importance in the Brehon Laws of Ireland. One of the subjects of distress is fighting at a fair.[2]

Fairs were very profitable to the lord of the district where they were held, and were encouraged at the expense of local trading. Besides the fees for licences to hold fairs, the tolls and rents of booths, the profits of the market court in fees were very considerable. Here the disputes between the traders were settled by customary merchants' law. No process for an old debt was taken at a fair, the local man leaving it alone until he had got all the money possible from the trader, who might otherwise be frightened away. The merchants travelling in companies, each member of the merchant guild of a town guaranteed the debt of his fellow.

Fairs held for convenience at a certain fixed time and place become permanent trading posts and centres of commerce and develop into towns. Here is a great opportunity for kings and abbots and other rulers to raise money by granting charters and giving privileges of monopoly by which they can control trade. In the twelfth century this granting of charters, growth of towns, and increase of trade was going on at a great rate.

It would not do to assume that there was little foreign trade. When in 1186 King Sverri of Norway held a Thing at Bergen, a number of merchant ships came from all parts, and he mentions that the English brought wheat and honey, flour and cloth, linen or flax and wax. He also mentions merchants from the Orkneys and Shetlands and Faroes. And he says: "There are Germans who have come here in great numbers, with large ships, intending to carry away butter and dried fish, of which the exportation much impoverishes the land: and they bring wine instead, which

people strive to purchase, both my men, townsmen, and merchants."[3] Sverri at Bergen had a prophetic dislike for these men of the Hansa, the merchants who in times past had trembled at the name of the Northmen. The Viking was not wholly subdued (he is never quite absent from the most timid, conventional, social system), but he was gradually giving away before the commercial opportunities for gain, which suggested that it was better and cheaper to gain by trade than to risk violence, to cheat than to rob. For a very long time the two forms of gain continue side by side. When the Viking is subdued in Europe he spreads over the earth, east, west, and south, as the European peoples carry their gospel sword into other continents.

In these early times in Europe the trading sailor, like the men who in later days built up our Eastern Empire, did business with one eye on the goods for sale, measuring up his opponent with the other for the possible scramble. "When they came to Biarmaland," says the "Saint Olaf Saga" (cc. 132, 143) of an expedition to the farthest north, "they went straight to the merchant town and the market began." After giving some particulars of the trading, the Saga continues: "When the fair was at an end, they went out of the Dwina River, and then the truce with the country people was also at an end . . . and Thorer asked the crews if they would like to go on the land and get booty." The community has to be strong and its people united for defence to face such trading. As trading becomes of greater importance there is a natural tendency for these little societies to form larger groups for mutual protection. It is a step to empire, the substitution for the isolation of absolute independence of a strong power to control outside relations as a protection from the alien trader.

Previous to 1870, if you travelled in Germany, every few miles you passed into a fresh lordship, which had its own coinage, an army of three hundred men or so, a Court, and a Prime Minister, all the insignia of authority, and a custom-house where tolls could be collected on the eggs and apples of the neighbouring State.

SECTION II. THE TRAVELLING TRADER—TOLLS

This brings us to another side of the question. As the strengthening of central government lessened local disorder, the local authority, lord, baron, or chief, deprived of his means of living by open plunder, substituted the taking of imposts and tolls of all sorts from the travelling merchants who passed through their few miles of territory. To enable them to obtain these tolls, every effort was made to force the trade to come by the castle of the tax-gatherer. If the merchant tried to avoid the tolls by straying into the woods from the founderous mud which went by the name of the highway, he met his death as a robber, or was stripped of all by the baron's men, who lurked in wait for such a prize. The evil is acknowledged by the "Très Ancien Coutumier de Normandie" (c. 15), which recites that counts, barons, and knights, who have care of the roads in their lands, ill-treat merchants and others, extorting money, taking tolls for passage, which, as they have been long established, cannot be abolished. Whereupon the custom law goes on to lay down that to end this the duke will guard the roads, so that in his peace, if anyone assaults another and brings blood and wounds, and is taken (which would be very unlikely), he loses his limbs, and if he kills, his life. This is, of course, only a pious wish, giving the duke a very limited jurisdiction (see c. 59), which would be tolerated and even approved by the people, even if it were only exercised in very exceptional circumstances. But the mere expression of the wish and possible use helped trade. Both the baron and the merchant knew that if the complaint ever came before the duke, the money of the merchant would go as far and to better purpose than if he had paid blackmail to the other man.

With the rise of the towns the king's power was increased by his control over the roads. The Statute of Winchester, 1285, provided for the clearing away of bushes and underwood for two hundred feet on each side of the highway leading from one market town to another to prevent men "lurking in them to do hurt." Was it done,

and, if so, who did it? There was no general law of road repair until 2–3 Philip and Mary.

There was a broad distinction between the king's roads and others. "Chemyn roial est ceo qe duce de ville en ville et comen chemyn est ceo qe duce del ville en champ," says the Court.[4] The king's roads were the roads used by traders.

The Romans had built their great roads on good foundations, but as time went on they grew steadily worse. In London in 1356 a toll has to be charged for every cart or pack-horse entering or leaving the city gates, to provide for the repair of the roads outside the city. But such tolls have a way of sticking to the pockets of the men who collect them.

The remedy of the merchant for such conditions was that he should travel in companies such as to overawe the robber on the road, and should form great trading corporations with agents resident at trading posts which could deal on more equal terms with the robber of the castle.

The desire for freedom from vexatious taxation, creating uncertainty of cost, which always handicaps trade, is a very potent influence in politics as well as in commerce. In order to outbid his opponent in foreign trade, the merchant must be able to make a close estimate of the varied outgoings which he may have to meet on his way to market to enable him to quote a certain price. Hence a steady conflict goes on between the lords who can impose taxes and the great body of merchants, to settle the terms on which the men who have bought or produced the goods can handle them to a distant market. The one great advantage possessed by the American in trade is that in an area almost the size of Europe commerce can be carried on without any of the tolls which elsewhere hamper trade.

As examples of the value of control of roads and ferries to the authority and of the endless tiny tolls paid at every turn by the merchant as he passed through the country from one small district of France subject to English kings; foreign merchants paid at Fayolles and Gontz in Gascony:

for their persons, a denier (an old French coin worth one-thirteenth of a farthing), the same for a load of iron, the same or a handful of salt for a load of salt, and the same for carrying away a load of wheat, wine, dishes, or bottles; at Temple de Breuil in Lot, for a beast of burden load of salt fish, three deniers; wheat or wine, two deniers; for twelve ewes, three deniers; for cattle or horse sold, one denier; for a hamper of glass phials, one denier. The traveller by river paid to the Templars for a cask of wine, salt, oil, salt fish, beans, or peas, six deniers; for a cask of oats, barley, or other grain, four deniers; for two hundredweights of merchandise sold by weight, six deniers; for twelve pieces of cloth of Agen, five deniers; and for each boat on its first voyage, five sols or sous.

On arrival at his destination the merchant had to pay a toll for the privilege of exposing his goods for sale in the market (*jolaçage, taulage*), and tolls on such sales, as, for instance, in the market of Fayolles, on the borders of Gascony and Toulouse, for a pound of wax, one denier; for a load of pots or saucepans, one denier or one pot; for a pig, one denier; for a donkey shod, two deniers, unshod, one denier, etc. In practice all these tolls were compounded for by the village or town from which the merchant came.

As a contrast, the following are noted in the "History of Indian Shipping," by Radhakmund Mookerji, from Ayeen-i-Akbari, Blockmann's translation, as the tolls exacted in the sixteenth century at ferry places on the great rivers of India: an elephant, 10*d.*; a laden cart, 4*d.*; an empty cart, 2*d.*; a laden camel, 1*d.*; an unladen horse or cattle, ½*d.*; twenty people for crossing (they are often taken gratis), 1*d.* No one was allowed to swim a river.

To give a single example of the disputes about tolls and the difficulty of settling them, the city of Toulouse, a French possession on the Garonne, at the time when John was king of England and Aquitaine, carried on an extensive trade with Bordeaux and other Gascon towns on the river. The Toulousan ships passed daily under the walls of the castle of Anvillars between Moissac and Agen in English territory, paying on their passage, according to

ancient custom, one of the many tolls which impeded commerce. The lord of the castle took upon him to raise the impost. Money values were changing in John's time; the lord might very likely be feeling the pinch of higher prices. The Toulousans refused to pay the increase, and defied him. The vicomte, attempting to enforce his claim by seizure of ships, the town councillors of Toulouse, the town of the king of France, raised an army, invested the castle subject to the king of England, and forced it to surrender. But they were far too sensible in their success to destroy their own trade by the ruin of their enemy. The war ended by a formal treaty of June 1204 between the Toulousans and the castle owner, by which the Vicomte d'Anvillars gave up his claim to the increase of the toll, but continued to receive it at the old rate. This, however, hardly ended the matter, as other towns took up the question of tolls and brought in the English king and his seneschal of Guienne to effect a settlement.

Section III. The Church and the Social Instinct

To look at a good side of the later Crusades, after the wave of spiritual excitement had receded, the immense impulse to trade which resulted from the various expeditions made it necessary that if trade was to be conducted on moral principles, as between Christians (people outside the Roman communion did not count), the Church should set its face against injustice and avarice in trade. It must be remembered that until the Reformation destroyed Christian unity in the West, and left men for the most part without any spiritual head who could speak with authority on matters of morals, trade in common with the other affairs of the world was carried on in accordance with the views of current morality propounded by the Church, and not on the go-as-you-please methods of these later days, when the State powers rest on brute force only, and unrestrained competition between great combinations of capitalists supersedes morals. (Appendix A.) So the Church, although it frowned on trade and on the profits

of trade, laid down certain principles for guidance in commercial dealings elaborated by the canonists, of whom the chief was a Neapolitan noble who had become a Dominican, one Thomas Aquinas (died 1274), that on every sale there should be a just price, and that the receipt of any interest on loans of money, called usury, was sinful and should be illegal.

I do not propose to enter upon a diffuse discussion of these mediaeval economics, though they touch matters closely akin to the problems of our own time. There must naturally have been considerable latitude in fixing the just price; as far as I can understand the doctrine can only have amounted to a declaration by the Church that in the interests of honesty and justice society had a right to interfere in contracts between man and man, giving a caution to the rich not to outrage too far the social standard by heaping up undue profit to the oppression of the needy. In theory it would seem to come near the doctrine of the modern proletariat socialist that land and labour are the only sources of wealth. At the present day, apart from the social instinct which always stands by to protest against avarice, the best check on undue profits would appear to lie in human selfishness, in the natural desire for gain which brings into the field competition in purchase, resulting in higher prices for goods and reduced profits to the buyer, and competition on production resulting in reduced prices to the consumer.

The objection to interest on loans of money on security had for its foundation that in the loan of bare money a man ran little or no risk as contrasted with the enormous perils of trade. He laid up his talent in a napkin in the earth. There were many means of evasion, such as short loans carrying interest after the term, principal added to interest,[5] gifts of money and loans from the Jews, who, being eternally damned, stood for everyone's convenience outside the law and could lend at a huge rate of interest to churchmen as well as to laymen. The theory affected genuine trade very little. No doubt the Church disliked trade for gain as bad for the man's soul, but its provisions hardly

interfered with the trader, who ran enormous risks to obtain his great profits, any more than it would have interfered with legitimate commercial enterprise at the present day. There is always an immeasurable gulf between the man who guards the moral sense expounding the sin of usury, and the trader who, adventuring life and property with grievous pains and dangers, looks to the illimitable profits. It is one of the matters which the praters about profiteers seldom appear to realise, that the man who makes money out of his adventures risks great losses, and that it is to the advantage of the community that he should be encouraged to take the risks. No lasting system which looks to ownership by the community but excepts from "nationalisation" the fruits of daring and initiative in improvement.

The canonists were laying down the rule at a time when, owing to the communal system of agriculture, capital was little required, and when trade was gradually changing from the supply of such necessities for the community as had to be imported from abroad to trade for gain.

But gradually there creeps into this generality of indefinite risk the conception of the limited company. The merchant adventurer may not have a sufficient cargo for his venture; the man at home who is not going on the expedition may have money or goods for which, under the conditions of those times, he can find no use at home. He lends to the merchant on the security of a ship or of its cargo (the bottomry bond) or entrusts the goods to him to sell. But still he is a partner; if the ship is lost, the loan or goods are lost; if not, the lender was repaid with a fixed profit as a sleeping partner. No doubt there was a wide gap between the practice and the theories which the theologian wove in his chamber. But the principle was the same: to get interest the lender must be a partner in the venture, taking a risk. It is the same to-day. It is the one difference between capital and labour.

Putting aside the social aspect of commerce, both parties to any contract, whether employer and hired labourer, or buyer and seller, are, it would seem to the writer, subject to an inexorable elementary law of nature,

the only law to which there is no exception, and from which there is no escape—the law of markets. It is a soulless law, acting mechanically and exacting penalty for the breach. But tarry a little—there is something else. The community may interfere in its own interests. It may defy the law of markets. Whether it will suffer the penalty will depend on whether other competing communities have followed the same course and defied the law. As a matter of fact, all progressive communities from time to time take the risk of the penalty in deference to the social instinct in man, bidding him to consider the good of the society, rather than his own advantage, protecting both parties to a contract from being undersold by races lower in morals or efficiency, even if such action is contrary to the law of markets. At the time of which I am writing, during the period of the Crusades, the question of the relations of capital to labour which now trouble us affected society but little, for, like the modern Greek sailors of whom Kinglake speaks in "Eothen," each sailor on the ship that carried the merchandise had a share and a voice in the venture. For very long after, and still in the East to-day, the labourer was a capitalist who took the risks of the venture as part of his wages. It is a characteristic of the communal society, which in some form or another still obtains over so large a part of the world.

Section IV. Trade and the Mediterranean Towns

In the Baltic and North Seas the trade had hitherto lain solely in the hands of the Scandinavian, and so remained until he gave way to the German Hansa. His trade with the East was conducted by caravans and water traffic along the lines of the great rivers, the Dnieper and Volga, from Novgorod to the Black Sea and the Caspian, and so to the great mart of Constantinople or to a junction with the caravan routes of Syria. The greatest trade, however, of the Scandinavians was with the States of the Western sea-board, the trade which afterwards grew to be a monopoly in the hands of the Hanseatic League. In

the Crusading period the Scandinavian seaman is not prominent in the Mediterranean Sea.

It is round the Mediterranean Sea that the trade of the East gathers. Poets and historians take little account of trade, whether it is the trade of Babylon, of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, to which all the world is indebted for the principles of banking and commerce, or of Tyre and Carthage, of ancient Rome or modern Britain. Trade is a subject which does not lend itself to the extravagance of poetic diction or to the imagination of historians. In the Latin comedies we find merchants as characters, and allusions to trade; but if we judge of the trade of ancient Rome by the references which can be found in other Roman writers, such as the contemptuous words of Horace in his Odes,[6] we should assume that commerce counted for as little in the life of the Roman Empire as we should be entitled for similar reasons to assume that it took in the British Empire in the nineteenth century.

But empire always presupposes trade. So long as Rome remained the mistress of the Western world, she undoubtedly controlled and profited by an immense trade, not only in the Mediterranean, but in the East far and near. It is on Roman models that the customs of the sea trade preserved in the codes of mediaeval cities are drawn up; it is the traditions of Rome as to insurance, interest on loans, and a hundred other aspects of commerce which, in spite of the contempt of the ecclesiastic, attend the revival of trade in the Mediterranean.

As Rome decayed, trade in the Mediterranean had fallen almost entirely into the hands of the Arab and Saracen, and of the Semitic races in the East, for whom they acted as freight agents and carriers.

The trader is seldom, at least not for long, an individual, though every trading corporation in all times rests its success on the exceptional judgment of some one or two eminent leaders. The trade with the East in particular, requiring a large capital, called for a body of rich and influential men. So when the Latins of the West begin again to compete for the trade of Asia, it is the town, the

town in the Mediterranean, the town as a republic, an oligarchy of traders, which defies the limitations imposed by the Church and steadily encroaches on the markets of the infidel. The Crusades give the towns the needed opportunity to open up a great trade with all the known lands of Asia. The Italian republics, the towns and territories of Amalfi, Venice, Genoa, Pisa, the French Marseilles, the Spanish Barcelona, supply the Crusaders with food, ammunition, and transport; they trade with and furnish the markets of the Eastern Empire of Rome. In return they gain from the emperor and from the generations of fighting men in Palestine, Syria, and Africa great trade privileges in the Levant, the means of opening a door to further exploration of the East. It need hardly be added that, as at all times, they carry on a busy trade with the enemy. Perhaps the crusading kingdoms might have lived if the Mediterranean republics, in return for the products of the East, had not supplied the Oriental with timber and iron and implements of war. The gains of the physical struggle pass to the trader. From this time no part of the known world was too remote for him.

The day had not come when the Turkish fleets dominated the Eastern Mediterranean and threatened all the commerce of Europe, but it must have been apparent from the first that the success or failure of the European attack on the East depended upon the command of the sea by the Crusaders. This necessity was never apparently fully realised either by the military leaders who were responsible for the land operations of the Crusaders, or by the great maritime republics who represented, as a side issue to their own trade, the Christian sea power against the Moslems, nor by the Popes who, for the benefit of the Roman Church, would so often divert the energies of the potent Crusader to an attack on rulers and peoples such as Peter of Aragon who could have helped to overcome the Moslem, or to hinder great leaders like Frederic II in their own selfish interests in Italy.

The insane quarrels of the naval republics, especially the Venetians and Genoese, and their jealousy of the wealth

of the Greek Empire, were prime causes in bringing about the catastrophe in which their own trade and naval predominance were justly overwhelmed. In 1204 it was the fleet of the Venetians which, in their desire to oust the Genoese from the rich trade of the Crimea and the Black Sea, was the main factor in consummating the great crime of the diversion of the Crusade to the sack of Constantinople and the substitution for Greek rule, culture, and religion of a bastard Latin kingdom and Latin Church. The Venetians, as long as this adventure lasted, built their fortified factories in the Crimea and controlled the trade. When in 1261 the Latin kingdom came to an end, the Genoese drove out the Venetians, built their fortified factories, and rebuilt the trading posts of Kaffa and Soldaia, from which the spices of the East were exchanged for the furs of the North by way of the Dnieper and Novgorod.

Throughout the Crusading period and for centuries after, the maritime republics were more concerned with trading in contraband of war, in iron and timber, with the Saracens and the Turks, than in any use of their ships in the service of Christian Europe.

In 1444 " the Genoese vessels ferried an army of 40,000 Ottomans across the Bosphorus at a ducat a head to do battle against the champions of Christendom." The result was what should have been expected. Nine years later, in 1453, the Turks finally took Constantinople. In 1454 the Venetians made a treaty with the Turks, and fortified the islands on the way to Alexandria. But they had ruined the Genoese naval power, and their own was insufficient for defence. In 1470 the Turks took Negropont from the Venetians and blocked the Egyptian sea route, from this time threatening the existence of the Western world. " In 1475 Kaffa fell to their all-devouring armies. The Genoese colony with its warehouse palaces at Pera, its trading strongholds along the narrow seas, and its two factories in the Crimea, went down in the wreck of the Byzantine Empire."

CHAPTER VI

THE TOWNS

Section I. The Towns as Trading Centres

It is the fair, the fortress, the town which begins empire. The individual or the family may wander over a region, may extend the area of cultivation or of pasturage and acquire squatting or legal title to new lands. Bodies of such men may draw the habits and instincts of their motherland with them. An example of such movement is the Boer of South Africa. This is not empire, but emigration and expansion. Empire, which carries with it the organised associations of men who rule over other people, can only have its origin where such association is sufficiently compact to enable the necessary equipment and resources for war or adventure to be easily collected in one spot by men having a common interest. They must also be men who have the instinct for commerce, and knowledge and reliance on one another, a condition which only arises where many men collected together have to depend on their mutual exertions for the necessities of life. All effective expansion begins from a town, and begins in a town. It is the great towns such as London which provided our great trading companies which created our Empire; it is with the establishment of forts and trading places, whether on the Hooghly or the St. Lawrence and Potomac or on Hudson Bay, that our Empire began. As trade has spread far and wide over the new possessions, building up many other advanced posts, the fortress town remains as a centre of trade and government, and if it is a seaport and commands land or river routes, as a military centre and security for the monopoly of trade.

Gradually, but very slowly, the towns and the bodies or guilds of traders living in and governing them become semi-independent communities within the State. How soon depends on the strength of the central government. Weakness of central government in any community is always accompanied by the formation and growth of societies within the organised authority, first associating for self-protection, afterwards progressing to constructive effort at self-government within, but little affected by, the greater State. This is especially the case in imperial combinations which are not homogeneous. Such are the monasteries within the Church, the fortress factories of the distant Roman authority; such is the Hansa of merchants which pays its dues to the needy or weakly lay power; such are the franchises of the nobles, when the armed force of the Crown cannot yet reach the remoter districts; such are the towns, which have existed for long time as centres of commerce, which become burghs of regality or fortified free cities.

The same conditions continue. Speaking of modern Italy, Sismondi says that after the Sicilian Vespers "the effective control of the country is in the hands, not of the Italian State, of which it is officially a portion, but of the Mafia, an association of *robbers*" (you will construe this word with discretion; it includes most legal authorities), "who have constituted an official but fairly adequate home rule, and on reception of due tribute very faithfully and effectually protect against themselves the life and property of the doubly assessed citizens." The inordinate present powers of our police in the same way grows from the fundamental weakness of authority which permitted Dogberry's "You shall comprehend all vagrom men, you shall bid any man stand in the king's name," until now they claim to have a Union, to become a separate entity within the State. Our present wealth of Unions and Leagues and the Fascisti and Sinn Fein and the League of Nations are streams from the same source of political anarchy.

The towns at first leaned on the central authority for

protection in disputes with the local powers, paying dues for monopolies granted to them by the king or emperor or to his grantees, to whom he often transferred both their profits and their turbulence. (Appendix C.) When the towns fought their lords, which was very often, the appeal was to the king's courts, and long and costly litigation and much bribery became the mode of settling such disputes when Edward I came back from the Crusades bringing with him the legal spirit from Rome. The English central government was well organised and powerful, and in consequence the independence of the towns grew slowly, with the exceptions of London and Bordeaux. Under the settled rule of a strong monarchy they tend to become social centres rather than fortresses, and as a rule, standing apart from politics, devote themselves to become great trading federations free as far as possible from federal exactions. A good example of such a purely trading corporation is Morpeth, in Northumberland, a town governed by a body corporate, called the Bailiffs and Burgesses of the Borough of Morpeth. There were seven independent guilds in the town, each governed by its own by-laws, the body corporate being composed of twenty-four members of these guilds selected as follows: the merchants and tailors, barbers, wax-makers, bowers, sheathers elected four; the tanners and barkers, six; fullers and dyers, wrights, carvers, and hatters, three; smiths, saddlers and armourers, slaters, lorimers and sword slippers, three; cordwainers and curriers, three; weavers, three; skinners, glovers, and butchers, two. These guilds included women as well as men. They were co-operative; the tanners, for instance, buying the trees, stripping the bark, and selling the wood; and they had the exclusive right of carrying on business in the town. The corporate body was a large landowner and stock-raiser, having its own common of 401 acres first ploughed in 1762. The members of the guilds shared in any purchase by one of them, the record of sale being made before the town bailiff to prevent one person from monopolising the profit.[1]

In Scotland the king's power, always weak, was often

successfully questioned, both nobles and boroughs attaining great independence. Here we find early a group of towns north of the Grampians headed by Aberdeen, where great ships were built and much trade transacted, and another group nearer to the seat of kingly power, the Curia Quatuor Burgorum of Berwick, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, and Stirling, presided over by the chamberlain of Scotland. These burghs appear as part of the Scottish Parliament at Cambuskenneth in 1326.

In the Midi of France, where the Roman municipal spirit had lingered longest outside of Italy, in cities such as Toulouse, the town organisation called the commune enjoyed great independence under local princes and counts. As the south of France became united to the Crown, when the counts of Toulouse, after the Albigensian persecution, were succeeded by the brother of St. Louis, Alphonse of Poitiers, and his Countess Jeanne, the towns went with it and became the third estate. The French king encouraged the growth of towns. All through the thirteenth century the Crown was building the fortified country houses called *bastides*, round which the towns grew up, and making agreements (*traités de pareage*) for joint possession by the Crown and the lord. Sometimes several lords commanded the towns in common.

In making grants they reserved much to themselves: the profits of the bakehouse, the smithy, the mill, the slaughter-house, the inns, the fees for the flocks and the herds of pigs, the game, the fisheries, the forced labour, rents, and poll tax, fees on sales, purchases, mortgages, and tithes and road tolls.

But it is Italy that leads the way in the growth and power of the towns. The Italian communes were confederations of cities, organised like republics managed by commercial burghers. Their form was naturally republican, from Imperial Rome and its foundation on republican forms. They very early became independent republics which fought and conquered one another, controlling, during a most magnificent career, the trade of the Mediterranean and the East, in which they planted their colonies

and dependencies. They abolished the privileges of the aristocracy, only to become an aristocratic oligarchy themselves. After fighting with the nobles, then among themselves, they fought with the populace, who were not included in their territorial government. And in the end they fell, as all republics do, into the hands of the despot. There is perpetual war going on between town and town, between confederations of towns and Pope and emperor and local baron. The town here reproduced in an exaggerated form the insularity of the communal society. Behind its impregnable walls, from which to defend its few miles of territory, it warred against its neighbours both physically and economically.

In all the long and bitter struggle between the emperors and the popes, with their allies the feudal bishops and barons, the towns, first of the Lombard plains and then of the Tuscan hills, grew in power and wealth and freedom by helping both sides to men and money, as strictly benevolent neutrals, and taking advantage of the difficulties of both. By the time of the first Crusades they had become self-governing republics, obtaining by charter from the emperor what they could not wrest from the Pope. Unfortunately they were still in the condition which affects the minds of many in our day, impressed with a belief that you can only increase your own commerce by destroying that of your neighbour.

Amalfi, which with Naples and Gaeta represented the last remains in Italy of the Eastern power of the Empire, first obtained practical independence. It was the earliest of the towns to become famous in trade; the compass, which probably came from China, was made of common use by its sailors; it drew up regulations for commerce; and it originated the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. But the Normans and the fleet of Pisa crushed Amalfi. Genoa and Pisa, great naval rivals, were subjects or allies of the Frankish Empire. Venice, which had freed herself from the Lombards, supplied ships to the Greek navy. Rome, with no commerce, dependent on pilgrims for its support, became a general refuge under the Popes, carrying

on in boisterous fashion the traditions of the republican city and the ancient Empire.

It is out of the indescribable anarchy of the eighth to the eleventh centuries that the towns arise as strong fortresses under the direct protection of the fighter, where, at some point suitable for a special industry, or where at some supreme point of advantage seas or roads or rivers meet, the peoples of the country can in safety trade among themselves or with the foreigner. Those who could control the roads and rivers could check or advance trade and take their advantage accordingly.

Those great traders, the Scandinavian Vikings, set the example of such trading points to the English when they built the five burghs of Lincoln, Stamford, Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester in the Danelaw, surrendered to them by Alfred, controlling the rivers of the east and midlands and creating a monopoly of trade on all sides. The towns on the borders of Scotland and in the marches of Wales were fortress factories round which trade grew up. The type often comes from the Scandinavian settlement of Normandy. Breteuil in Normandy, south-west of the Department of Eure, gives its constitution to Hereford, and Hereford, an essentially military town, is the type on which Conway, Carnarvon, and Beaumaris were settled. The fortress of Chester, the Quatuor Burgi of Berwick, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, and Stirling, are examples of walled towns whose first merits were as places of defence, which became great trading centres with charters of monopoly.

Section II. Merchant Law—The Assizes of Jerusalem

As the merchant passes from district to district, engaging in transactions which may affect a number of communities living under varying customs, he feels not only the need for laws protecting him from the greed and local jealousy of the insular community, but need for a common code of merchant law by which his transactions may be regulated. Trade calls for a special place of defence and

deposit, the fortified trading post, and a settled place of meeting which develops into the town. But it calls also for a special court and law for the trader who has no kin in the land, so that he may have the right to compete freely with the men of the country in trade. These requirements grow out of the necessities of the traders themselves, and come to mature growth by their united exertions. When some such customary law has been adopted as a general measure of convenience, when some safe place of meeting for trade has developed into a settlement, the lord or king seizes upon the opportunity to obtain revenue, offers protection to the traders for pay, grants a charter for the market town, or passes a *lex mercatoria* embodying the customary provisions. Then some one writes it down as history, and the town or the law is supposed to have sprung into existence from the brain of the beneficent king. Hull, for example, existed for long before Edward glorified it with his charter and gave it the name of the King's Town. When he enacts his statute of merchant law, it is from the collection of already existing custom handed down from long time, put into writing for general use.

One of the most interesting of early towns, closely related to the study of empire, is the city of Jerusalem, when the Crusaders set up a kingdom in the East during the first Crusade. The city of Jerusalem differed in every material respect from the towns of Western Europe, while it combined some of the features of all of them. It was the capital of a kingdom with many imperial features, the nucleus of an empire which faded away; it represented the first attempt by Europeans to form an empire in the East; it was a fortress of the first importance guarding a possession wrenched from the East and held by force; it was while it lasted a chief link between the West and the East; through its seaports it was the centre of a mighty trade. The population was composed not only of the men of some half-dozen European nations, but of as many of the peoples of the East; every shade of Moslem and Christian and Jewish theology met in the Holy City. In the Courts the Jew swore by his Law, the Saracen by the

Koran, the Armenian, the Syrian, and the Greek by the Holy Cross and the New Testament, the Samaritan by the books of Moses, and others by the books of their law.

As the outpost for attack on the East and for defence of the West, the ruler had to make great provision for the fighting men, the great princely and baronial leaders and their feudal followers; La Haute Cour, a feudal Court, was constituted to deal with feudal relations, with marriage, and title and the devolution of property. The Moslem institutions afforded a certain analogy to the feudal customs of Western Europe.

In addition, the Crusades had brought together the followers of the country baron and the men of the town. Most probably numbers of the villein class had followed the lords of the manor to the East, on terms which included enfranchisement. The burghers and the freemen who had followed the Cross had become soldiers, had experienced the perils of organised warfare, and were for long forced to continue military defenders of the Holy Land. After the capture of Jerusalem merchants from all countries, the religious bodies with their great following, and all the crowd of traders, artisans, and seekers of fortune who follow the fighting man poured into the new possessions. For these citizens and merchants the Court of the Burgesses was established, of which we have the interesting records in late MSS.[2] This Court is presided over by the vicomte, after the fashion of French mediaeval boroughs, a chief of police, and judge. The office survives to-day in Jersey. He was assisted by a body of jurors similar to the *rachimbourgs* of the Salic and ripuarian laws, the scabins of the Capitularies of Charlemagne, and the *gens* of the *établissements* of St. Louis. There are rules as to their disagreement, their number, the causes of delay, the employment of counsel, and other matters treated of in French and English and Scandinavian customary law are set out. Battle is avoided as far as possible as a means of settlement among the small garrison in a hostile country. The religious orders established hospitals and undertook military duty, while the rules as to the liability of the physician

point to medicine being in the hands of the Jews, Arabs, and other pagans.

The Assizes of Jerusalem are valuable as a commentary on the origin and antiquity of our own institutions, but their most valuable part is the light which they throw upon the regulation of mediaeval trade, and the relation of the empires of the East and the crusading outposts to the great republican cities of the Mediterranean.

Besides the Feudal or Haute Cour, and the Burgess and Ecclesiastical Courts, the Assizes assume three other Courts. One is the Court of the Sea, founded, no doubt, on the Cour de la Mer of Pisa and Amalfi, dealing with disputes arising out of maritime contracts (cc. 41-46). As there was no battle in the Cour de la Mer, the Court remitted the evidence, if crime was concerned, to the Court of Burgesses for judgment.

The matters dealt with included (c. 41) disputes over money entrusted to be delivered at one seaport and carried to another, which in view of the varying course of the ships before the wind in those days was quite a likely occurrence; (c. 42) goods thrown overboard to lighten the ship in danger; (c. 43) sailors who take money on a contract to go on a voyage, and back out, a matter which in British merchant disputes is now covered by insurance and prosecution before a magistrate; (c. 44) trading with the enemy, selling forbidden goods to the Saracens; (c. 45) the case of a ship or cargo seized by the Saracens at sea, or forfeited on account of some scrimmage into which the sailors have entered on land, and (c. 46) the salvage of ships and goods.[3]

Another Court or group of tribunals is the Court having consular jurisdiction over each community of foreign merchants, the people represented by the consuls, Venetians, Genoese, Pisans, Amalfitans, Marseillais, etc., who had their special quarters in the towns.

These rights of immunity and jurisdiction were conferred by charter very early in the time of the first Crusade. The Crusaders had not only used the Venetian and other shipping for their expedition, but they were largely dependent

on shipping for their supplies. In view of the enormous trade which sprang up between the East and the Mediterranean republics, it is not surprising that concessions were freely granted to them.[4] The Amalfitans were the first to obtain concessions, the Venetians received them in Jaffa in 1099, in the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1111. The Genoese and Pisans also obtained them very early, the Marseillais in 1117.

The third Court was the Court of the Fonde (c. 221). This Court has to deal with the mixed crowd of races, Syrian, Jew, Saracen, Christians of the West, Greek, Jacobin, and Armenian. Judgment was given by a bench consisting of a bailli and six jurors, two Frank and four Syrians. The Court concerned itself with debt, guaranty, letting of houses or camels, and other matters arising between resident merchants and stranger traders. But in the first instance I think it was a custom-house Court which combined cases arising out of contract with the levying of customs duties.

The fonde is the name for the customs storehouse at the port.[5] It is a warehouse for goods, a counting-house, and quarters for travelling merchants, and hence a custom-house and market. The law and practice of proceedings in debt between the different peoples are very fully considered in the Assizes, the system resting on guarantees and pledges. The kings of Jerusalem assigned sums as cash by grant to the different territorial bodies to be levied on the produce of customs duties, *e.g.* Baldwin II in 1123 to the Venetians, and Amauri in 1169 to the Pisans; or they granted exemption from customs to these bodies who set up their own fondes at certain places, *e.g.* Baldwin II in 1139 to the Pisans for the city of Tyre.[6]

The names of the coins in use at the time of the Crusades in the East were, it appears, for gold, the Byzantine aurei or bezants of the Greeks, the denarii or dinars of the Arabs, and after Louis IX, gold pieces of the Franks; for silver the Byzantine argentei of the Greeks, the drachmae or dirhems of the Arabs, and after Louis IX gros tournois; of copper the Greek chalcos, the Arab felous.

The value of the money varied: the bezant might be five or ten sous. The names used in the Assizes are mark of silver, bezant, sou, denier, carouble, drachma, rabouin. The bezant appears to have generally equalled four sous or twenty-four caroubles. The carouble, from the carob bean of Arabia, was in value a little more than half a farthing. The duties payable at the fonde are set out at great length and are very variously estimated. (Appendix D.)

Section III. Charters to Towns

All kings and rulers encouraged the growth of towns for the sake of the tolls and dues to be collected for trading there, and for court fees and fines, the ruler setting up a fair for a certain limited time with an absolute preference of trade, leading to monopolies and to further tolls and fees, beginning with pickage and stallage to the lord for breaking ground and setting up stalls.[7]

The lord could grant to the town for payment monopolies of any one trade or number of trades within a limit of distance, the right to organise guilds for any trade, and freedom from tolls of all sorts in all parts of the kingdom. For instance, Beverley in 1200 paid King John 500 marks to be free of toll throughout England. In 26 Edward I the men of Hull petition that the king make the town a free borough, the town to be kept by a warden whom the king should appoint, that they may devise their tenements by will, that they might be sued out of the town, to have their own coroner, and to be free of duties and customs throughout England; the king to have prison and gallows, a fair for thirty days, beginning at the feast of St. Austin, and a market on Tuesday and Friday in every week.[8] In 1234 Henry III, confirming the charter of Newcastle-on-Tyne, grants the burgesses a licence "to dig coals and stones in the common soil outside the walls and to convert them to their own profit." [9]

Sometimes the king sells an existing town to a company of adventurers who will combine a garrison for offence and defence with trade. About 1174 Henry II grants to the

burgesses of the city of Dublin freedom from toll, passage, pontage, lastage, pavage, murage, quayage, carriage, and all custom for themselves and their goods, throughout his entire land of England, Normandy, Wales, and Ireland. He does not mention Anjou or Aquitaine. These burgesses were Bristol men. In 1185 John confirms to his men of Bristol the donation which his father made to them of his city of Dublin to be inhabited by them with all the liberties and free custom which the men of Bristol have. A constitution of privileges for Dublin granted in 1192 contained provisions allowing " all reasonable guilds " and freedom to build on the banks of the river, and prohibiting any foreign merchant from buying corn, hides, or wool from any but the citizens or from having a wine tavern or selling cloth by retail or tarrying in the city with his wares for sale for more than forty days. In 1215 John granted the city in fee ferm with the right of fishing in the Liffey and permission to build a bridge, at a rent of 100 marks, and to hold a fair for fifteen days from May 3rd, of which fair the Archbishop of Dublin was to have the first two days. The king reserved to himself the sites of mills on the river. The Scots kings in the same way founded royal burghs with exclusive monopolies of manufacture and commerce.

The literature on the subject of towns and their liberties and customs is enormous. But it only concerns us here from the three aspects of the town as a source of finance, as a seat of trade, and as the origin of imperial expansion.

CHAPTER VII

THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

Section I. Its Relations with its Neighbours

The Scandinavian trader is not greatly in evidence in the Mediterranean in crusading days, though as an individual he did undoubtedly engage there in trade and piracy. He had a world to himself in the north. While the conditions of the Mediterranean peoples were being transformed by the Crusaders' attack on the Moslem East and by the development of trade which accompanied it, a corresponding change was taking place in the northern seas.

The era of adventure and exploration, of trade attending piracy and plunder, of discovery and forcible settlement of new lands, was for the moment at an end. The Northman who had become a Christian was ceasing to be a Viking. His pre-eminence as a trader and seaman was giving way, so far as he was not incorporated in it, to a great trading combination of the merchant burghers of the towns on the great rivers and sea coast from the Rhine to the Vistula, which would gradually obtain and hold a monopoly of the trade of the North and West for some centuries.

Exactly how and when this combination of merchant towns began which developed into the Hanseatic League we do not know, nor is it worth while to inquire. They enter very early into English history, the close connection between trade and piracy undoubtedly exercising a disturbing influence on the policy of the Saxon kings in the ninth to the eleventh centuries. The German merchants are spoken of in the Law Book of London in 978 in the

reign of Ethelred II[1] as the men of the emperor, but there is nothing to show that they formed a Hansa any more than did Sitric and the Norsemen of Dublin. For centuries these Germans practically controlled British commerce.

The towns were used by the German emperor as a means to raise loans, to obtain dues and customs, and to help him to control the feudal barons. In return for men and money for their wars the emperors granted the towns privileges as corporate boroughs. For instance, in 1189 Frederick Barbarossa grants a charter to Hamburg. The combination of towns which eventually became the League no doubt arose as a revolt against the pressure of the many petty tolls of the feudal lords which strangled trade, and as a union for protection against the plunder of merchants by pirates both by sea and land.

I have already explained how the trader's want of kinship led him to travel in companies with the men of his city, guaranteeing each other's debts and ready to stand together if attacked. From this it is a short step to the formation of settlements in a foreign country for self-protection of merchants trading from many cities, leading to the founding of the Hansa of the Steelyard in London, the Merchant Adventurers at Antwerp, Emden, and Hamburg, and the Flemings' Association at Berwick. Thus established, the foreign merchant was in a position to obtain privileges from the needy king, loaning him money in return for them, and seeking to seize the trade from the home merchant by combination and monopoly. In these fortified factories the leagued cities were supreme. They made their own laws, they exercised consular jurisdiction; they kept their goods subject only to their own control; they had their own church; they had their own scales or steelyard;[2] and they were heavily armed. And they did not permit in their own towns such fortified settlements of alien traders.

Very long prior to the formal establishment of the full League in 1367 with Lübeck at the head, there was a strong combination of these linked towns, controlling all the rivers flowing into the Baltic and North Sea. Up to 1300 the

inland towns and the Rhine towns under Cologne as the head of the wine trade did a greater business than the seaport towns in the fish trade.

These towns were very early fighting the Scandinavian kingdoms, especially Denmark. They beat the Danes in 1227 in a battle at Bornhoved, and again in 1249, which brought wide concessions from Denmark in respect of the herring fishery in the Baltic. With the herring began the great prosperity of the Hansa, and with its loss their decadence. The League steadily grew. In 1278 Magnus of Norway granted extensive trading privileges to Bremen and the Wendish cities. In those days there was a great fishery of herrings on the Schonen coast, then owned by Denmark. In 1283 Eric of Denmark granted a piece of land to Hamburg on which the city might erect booths for the yearly herring fair.

The marriage connections of the English kings and German emperors and princes (*e.g.* Matilda, the daughter of Henry II, marries Henry the Lion) threw business into the hands of the League. Their towns, like all towns, were places for investment and loan of money. The burghers of Cologne helped Richard I to pay his ransom, he in turn releasing them from taxes in England, and giving them monopolies to the detriment of his own people. John and Edward I followed suit. Soon they were competing with the Lombards and Caussines as money-lenders, bankers, and farmers of taxes for the king. Edward III borrowed largely from them. When the Bardi of Florence, to whom he owed a million of gold crowns, went bankrupt, the League helped him to meet his debts and made further loans. He pawned to them his crown and jewels, which were redeemed by the merchants of the Steelyard. His son Edward, the Black Prince, borrowed from them on mortgage of the Cornish tin mines. These mines were a source of immense wealth to the prince. A duty of 2 lbs. on every 1000 lbs. of tin was paid.

When in the thirteenth century Lübeck, as head of the fishery business, supplanted Cologne as head of the Confederation, frequent disputes arose between the Hansa

seamen, who tried to obtain a monopoly of all fisheries, and the men of the ports of Boston, Berwick, Hull, and Newcastle-on-Tyne, as to the right to trade with and fish round Bergen in Norway and Iceland. As the money-lenders to the king, and owners of a most powerful fleet, the Hansa merchants had a great advantage in disputes with the English burghers. Their ships, being very large and strong, were not infrequently hired to kings for war.

Besides money-lending, the Hansa towns also dealt in marine insurance. This must have existed as a business from very early times, the home-staying partner lending on the value of the ship and cargo for a premium in case of safety; but all such contracts in early days were verbal. Marine insurance is mentioned in the fourteenth-century laws of Wisby, and there was an ordinance on marine insurance at Barcelona in 1435.

The great prosperity of these towns is shown by the coinage of gold by Lübeck in the fourteenth century, and the establishment of an insurance office and the use of bills of exchange at Bruges, as early as 1310.

The Hanseatic Confederation did not come into full completion until a war with Waldemar III of Denmark brought about a League of seventy-seven cities—Dutch, Westphalian, Livonian, and Wendish—in 1367. In 1361 Waldemar attacked the island of Gothland and sacked Wisby, which the Hanseatic cities had made the headquarters of the herring fishery. But in returning he lost his ships and his loot in a storm. Thereupon the Hansa towns declared war on Denmark and plundered Copenhagen from the sea. While they were engaged in this, Waldemar came upon them with his fleet and took twelve of their ships. A long war followed, in which the towns subsidised a League of Pirates called the Victual Brothers, led, amongst others, by Von Moltke and Manteuffel, as their allies.

In 1367 the towns held a great council at Cologne, at which the Hanseatic Confederation was formally inaugurated. But Waldemar declined to treat with them. The fortunes of war turned, and he was obliged to flee. For two years the Hansa plundered Denmark, and then concluded

the Peace of Stralsund, which left them in complete control of the Baltic and the Sound. But they had very great difficulty after the war in putting down their piratical allies by whose help they had won it. These pirates stopped the herring fishery for three years. Margaret of Sweden borrowed three ships from Richard II to put them down. In 1394 their friends the Hansa sent an army and fleet against them, but they were not finally crushed until 1402, when a Hamburg fleet caught them at Heligoland.

The League was governed by a Diet, presided over by a Syndic, which assumed absolute authority over every town in the League, expelling from it a town trading with any town or district forbidden by them. The League was divided into districts; the Baltic headed by Lübeck, the Prussian and Livonian by Danzic, Saxony and Westphalia by Brunswick, and the Rhine by Cologne. They granted as little reciprocity as possible to the English ports in which they gained privileges, always trying, while using their monopolies to the utmost, to prevent the British, whether English or Scot, from trading with Iceland and other independent countries.

The chief line of sea traffic lay from Bruges to northern Russia, the Hansa controlling the Baltic to the exclusion of Flanders and England until the fifteenth century, controlling also the trade of Sweden, forcing the king of Denmark to exclude the English, and forcing the king of Norway to make all trade pass through their factory of Bergen.

Through their factories in Scania and Novgorod, and at Bruges, the League exchanged the cloth of Flanders and England for the furs, honey, and wax of Russia, and traded in the tin, iron, copper, and tar of Scandinavia. They treated the Russians as slaves, keeping away all outside traders. Early in the twelfth century the Lombards gained a footing in Novgorod, but the Hansa worked to prevent them from residing in Baltic cities, and in 1405 succeeded. Either party cheated the other as usual. The Russian sold them bad furs and adulterated wax, and the German sold poor quality cloth of narrow width.

Then Ivan the Terrible crushed them in Novgorod,

seized their men and goods and carried them off to Moscow; the Dutch and Danes broke up their monopoly; in 1553 the English under Sir Richard Chancellor (Sir Hugh Willoughby with his men on another ship were lost) found the way to Russia by the Dwina and Archangel, and Chancellor went on to Moscow. After this expedition London merchants form the London and Muscovite Company and establish trade between England and Russia.

The account of their factory at Bergen is one long history of violence, fraud, contempt of faith, dishonesty, and brutality by the German. "Their rule there," says Miss Zimmern, "was relentless despotism disfigured by violence and breach of faith in treaties." They encouraged the pirates to attack Bergen, and when it had been twice sacked and destroyed by them the League captured it, partly by force, obliging it to give up all maritime traffic, and partly by taking a mortgage of the whole value of the town for necessaries. Then they built their fortified factory, excluding women and changing the garrison every few years. The tests for admittance amounted to torture for the initiates.

The League had a factory at Lisbon, through which it traded with the Mediterranean, and a depot and privileges at Venice.

Section II. Flanders and England

Bruges and London were the great ports for exchange of all the products of the north and south. In Bruges, which was very rich and very independent, the League gained great power and bullied the Flemings. In the early days the sea was closed between November and the beginning of March, sailing then being looked upon as a tempting of Providence. The Hansa regulations were that no ship should sail between Martinmas (November 11) and Candlemas (February 2). The exceptions made were for herrings, beer, and cod, which might be carried up to December 6, in order to be in time for Lent. As sea transport was very slow and subject to all kinds

of interruption, a voyage from the Baltic to the Mediterranean in the year was almost an impossibility. It was these conditions which gave pre-eminence to Bruges, and it was the marriage of Henry II with the great Eleanor of Aquitaine which determined the destinies of England.

Flanders formed a half-way house where both north and south could meet and exchange products. Bruges grew into the greatest of mediaeval wholesale markets and exchanges; Spain sent wines, dried fruits, olive oil, wax, quicksilver, wool, etc. (taking in exchange cloths of Ypres and Courtrai, fustian and linen cloth); Portugal sent wines, fruits, and Cordovan leather; Brittany sent salt, wines, linen, and canvas; Ireland, hides and fish, such as salmon, hake, and herrings, wool, linen, cloth, and the skins of wild beasts; Scotland, sheep-skins and hides, returning with small mercery, "and half the Scottish ships are generally laden home from Flanders with cartwheels and wheelbarrows"; the Easterlings, Prussia, and Germany, beer and bacon, copper, steel, bow staves, and timber; Cologne, thread, pitch, tar, etc. They bring back silver plate and wedges of silver from Bohemia and Hungary through Flanders. Genoa in her huge carracks, Florence and Venice in their galleys, send cloth of gold, silks, spices, and grocery wares, drugs, sugar, cotton, etc. But, says the English writer, the English buy more goods at the fairs of Brabant than all the others put together.

The English king, who claimed and enforced a supremacy over the narrow seas, who controlled the whole seaboard on both sides of the Channel south of Bruges as far as Spain and the island seaboard to the north, who made disposition of the wines of Gascony, of the wool of England, and of the cattle and products of Normandy and Ireland, had a power and influence far surpassing that of any Western king or group of kings of the time. As a result, southern England from this day sets out on a different course altogether from other parts of the islands.

Commerce and corn culture for so pre-eminently a corn-growing country beyond all others (though the politicians of our day have crushed her corn-growing and made

her dependent on less favoured peoples) turned her to a development of individual enterprises of which no other part of the islands finds any expression unless as a faint echo south-eastern Scotland. The great enterprises of the Norsemen to the north-west in Iceland, Greenland, and Vineland had brought to the Orkneys a great commerce up to Henry's time. But the barrenness of result of their bold voyages for settlement, coupled with the increasing influence of Rome and the rise of the Hanseatic League, drew mediaeval commerce within more narrow limits. The new world was left to be discovered by later men, and the Orkneys and Ireland, losing the advantage by the change of route to the English Channel, became islands in the far north-west whose user of land and social institutions had been modified by a former age of adventure.

Bruges, in the course of a dispute with Maximilian, who had married Mary of Burgundy, he being the son of the Emperor Frederic III, seized the son of Maximilian in 1487 and imprisoned him. In revenge, the Emperor Frederick III in 1488 invaded the territory of Bruges and blockaded the port of Sluys for ten years, ruining the town. The Hansa moved to Antwerp. In 1576 Antwerp was taken and sacked by the Spaniards.

The relations of the Hansa of the London Steelyard with the kings of England and the burghers and merchants of the city are a dull wrangle, part war, part commerce, through the struggles of York and Lancaster up to the time of the Tudors, one or the other side gaining the advantage, as the necessities of the pauper kings, or the fortunes of the civil war, or the action of the Hanseatic League, turned the scale. The League tried to follow the winning side, and did not help its fortunes in that way. But the Steelyard people continued to grow in power, financing both sides in the civil wars in competition with the Lombards and Caussines, and revenging attacks in England by stopping English trade at Bruges or Bergen. As an incident of the conditions under which they worked, the Merchant Adventurers of London set out to intercept the fleet which was bringing over Marie of Guelders, the

bride of James II of Scotland. They did not catch her, but they fell in with the Hansa fleet bringing salt and wine from Lisbon, and attacked it. In 1460 the Hansa ordered the recall of their men from England and forbade the sale of English cloth in the cities of the League.

An attempt was made to put an end to this condition by a treaty greatly in favour of the Hansa at Utrecht in 1473, as the result of a reference to Charles the Bold of Burgundy. But the treaty did not stop the disputes between the two parties, as the English merchants were growing stronger and better organised, steadily encroaching on the Hanseatic monopolies, and the English ships were increasing in number and size.

In spite of present wealth and power, the monopoly of the Hanseatic Confederation and its aggressive policy in the London Steelyard began in the fifteenth century to decline.

Section III. The Herring

There is a steady tendency from the fifteenth century among the western European Powers to check the monopoly of the Hansa in favour of their own merchant fleets. In 1420 John II of Castile prohibited direct trade between the Hansa towns and Spain, ordering the Hansa goods to be sent to Bruges, so that he might use his own and not their ships. 1 Henry VII, c. 8, orders that no Gascon wines should be imported save in English, Irish, or Welsh ships. The final blow to the Hansa came from an unexpected quarter. It was the herring which transferred the maritime predominance from the Hanseatic League to Holland and the British Isles. The herring fishery had been the foundation of the Hansa supremacy. The prosperity of Britain, Holland, and Flanders has been built up on herrings and wool.

In the earlier days of the Hansa the inland towns, headed by Cologne, as already stated, controlled the League, their trade resting on wine rather than upon fish. There were doubtless myriads of these fish on the British coasts. In Domesday Book Dunwich paid 60,000 herrings to the

king; John in 1199 made Dunwich a free port on payment of £120, one mark of silver, and 2400 herrings, and in 1108 Henry I gave Yarmouth a charter for an annual rent of 10 milliards of herrings;[3] in the Laws of King David, 1153, as an exception to the general rule that all goods must be landed for sale to avoid forestalling, it was provided that fish and herrings might be sold on board ship at sea. In 1338 Edward III obtained from Yarmouth forty lasts of herrings, *i.e.* 480,000 fish, for the use of his army in Flanders. In 1357 the Statute of Herrings fixed prices and guarded against forestalling. In 1429 the duke of Bedford sent 500 cartloads of herrings, convoyed by Sir John Fastolf, for the army besieging Orleans. The French, attacking the convoy, were defeated in the "battle of herrings."

But the herrings' chief feeding-ground was in the Baltic, and when the Hanseatic League moved to the coast and accepted the leadership of Lübeck the herring trade centred in the Sound, Wisby, in the island of Gothland, being the headquarters of the trade. The herring was exchanged for English goods, for tallow and timber from Novgorod, and for cloth, wine, beer, and hardware from Scandinavia. In the island of Rugen and the coast of Pomerania there were salt springs, convenient for curing the fish, for in those days no method of curing was known except by sprinkling the fish with salt. This was by no means satisfactory, as the time between catching and eating the fish might be considerable. In the fourteenth century one Beuchels, a Dutchman, discovered a means of curing the herrings for preservation instead of merely salting them, an invention which conferred immense power upon Holland and gained her almost a monopoly of the trade. Then in 1425 the herring deserted the Baltic and changed its feeding-ground to the coasts of the British Islands and of the Netherlands, and the monopoly of the League went with it.

These strange fish move in enormous shoals, several miles square, around the coast, affording an immensity of food easily procured if it can be preserved. The difficulty in the days of fasting and observance of Lent must have been enormous before a scientific method of curing was

adopted. The tail end of the wagon-load of herrings which Mrs. Paston bought for the use of her household in Lent can hardly have been luxurious eating, requiring the addition of much pepper and spices. Owing to the extreme cheapness and prolific nature of the fish and their fragile character, they are subject always to forestalling and regrating—in other words, to trusts and combinations of middlemen who buy up the fish, and in order to raise the price in the market, waste and throw away a great part of the catch.

The Scottish herring fleets met off the Isle of May. From the grants to the abbeys of Holyrood, Scone, Dunfermline, and others of shares in the custom dues from ships, or of exemption of their ships from tolls, the Scots must have had a large commerce in early times: the monks were great traders: there is plenty of evidence of trade with England. David, Fordun says, encouraged the Flemings who had fought in Stephen's wars to go to Scotland, and many did so. In 1297 Sir William Wallace and Sir Andrew Moray sent a letter to the Hanseatic League inviting trade. In 1347 the Scots formed a staple at Middelburg in Zealand, one of the chief trading ports of the Netherlands. In 1440 James I of Scotland married his daughter Mary to the Lord of Veere, and the Scottish staple was in consequence removed to Veere. In the fifteenth century customs are payable in Scotland on herrings, woollen cloth, and on salmon bought by foreigners for export.

With the migration of the herring to the ocean the commercial quarrel shifts from the Hanseatic League to Holland. The effort of the English king is now to prevent the Dutchman from fishing off the English coasts to the detriment of the native seamen, not an easy matter in the face of the monopoly by Holland of the fishing industry. The dispute reached its climax when Charles I insisted on payment of a tax by the Dutch for fishing off the English coast. To enforce the tax he built a large ship, the *Sovereign*, and began the building of a navy to protect the herring fleet and act as a convoy for the fishing ships,

for which object he raised ship money. Grotius' "Mare Liberum" was answered by Selden's "Mare Clausum." Then in 1636 Charles's fleet fell upon the Dutch who were fishing on our coasts without licence, drove them off, and sank some of their ships.

The value of the fishery is shown by the fact that the Dutch paid to the king £30,000 to be allowed to finish that season's fishing. But the patriot and the constitutional history interfered, and it was left to that real tyrant Cromwell to carry out the policy of Charles. By his Navigation Act of 1651 no fish was to be brought into England or Ireland or carried from one port to another unless caught by English or Irish ships. The attempt of Charles II to build up an English Fishing Company failed, the Dutch continuing to make great profits out of the Yarmouth herring fishery and using their fishery fleets to build up a navy which menaced us at home and drove our ships off the seas in the East.

The career of the London Steelyard comes to a close at the hands of Elizabeth. The League was supplying Spain with grain, war material, and shipbuilding material in her war with Elizabeth. Sir Francis Drake and Norris seized sixty Hansa ships loaded with grain at the mouth of the Tagus, the emperor drove the English from the Empire, Sir Thomas Gresham insisted upon the expulsion of the League from England. Thereupon, in 1598, Elizabeth gave notice to the Hansa to quit the Steelyard within fourteen days.

The only remaining fact of the Hansa story which concerns us is that as the English kings grew stronger at sea, they and their merchants were the more impatient of monopolies claimed by the League for which they gave no return. As the League decayed the Merchant Adventurers set out to supplant them.

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CHAPTER VIII

MEDIAEVAL TRADE—WOOL, WINE, AND COAL

Section I. The Woollen Industry

Leaving the herring and the fishing fleet, we pass to other subjects of commerce of very great importance to English mediaeval and imperial life—wool, wine, and coal. Each illustrates some aspect of empire and commerce. The herring fleet means the foundation and growth of maritime supremacy at sea out of a fishing and coasting trade, the herring boat as the nucleus of the Royal Navy; the wool staple is the story of the building up of a monopoly out of the natural fitness of soil and climate for a great industry; the wine trade gives us an historical illustration of the relations between one part of the Empire and another as affected through the treatment by the ruler of the merchant shipping and by the command or want of command of the sea; the coal export points to the necessity for mutual exchange of products for any healthy growth of trade. Wool and wine are among our important colonial products to-day, and our merchant shipping rests on our coal.

Weaving is the ancient domestic art. It is the test of entrance into civilised life. It comes down to us from the East through a series of our earliest records. To quote from the Bible alone—"the staff of his spear was like a weaver's beam"[1] is part of the description of that representative of early Phoenician commerce—Goliath.

Wherever the Romans go they carry with them the art of weaving and tell it of other peoples. Cæsar tells us of those much-maligned people the ancient Britons, that they understood weaving, a sure sign of a well-organised society; Martial, writing of their plaids, sneers at the

trousers of the British pauper. Strabo, speaking of Portugal, admires the woollen manufactures, and tells us that rams were brought from Asia for breeding. Flanders had manufactures of woollen goods in the tenth century, probably much earlier before the industries moved west and north on the break up of the Roman Empire, and England had very early the monopoly of the trade in wool to supply the deficiency of the Netherlands.

By the eleventh century the Low Countries had an enormous manufacture of cloth, England supplying the raw material. Her predominance in wool-growing must have been greatly due to comparative freedom from wild beasts, there being a somewhat similar chain of cause and effect between the wolf and the wool, as we are told exists between old maids and red clover. As late as 1449 James II of Scotland is directing the sheriffs to hunt and slay "the woolfe and her quhelpes" thrice a year, "and the indwellers of the shire shall rise with them under pain of one wedder." If one had a really sickly sheep "one wedder" might be cheaper.

When in 1343 (17 Edw. III) Parliament fixed the price of wool, it varied from 14 marks per sack for Shropshire to 4 marks for Cornish wool. Unless the Shropshire sheriff had some parliamentary influence or bribed freely, which is very likely, the difference in price would point to the Cornish sheep being a long-legged and muscular animal, bred more with a view to enable them to escape wild beasts than for quality of wool.

Very soon indeed the English wool-growers compete as cloth makers and exporters. Payments to the Exchequer are reported in Pipe Roll 31 Hen. I, from the Weavers' Guilds of Lincoln, London, and Oxford. This is only one of the first written notices of the trade. For how long before this date weaving had been going on as a commercial business, and weavers' guilds in England, we cannot say. Men only make written records when business becomes too complicated or too far-travelled to be carried on by word of mouth or by a notch on a stick. The ruler very early looks to written records as a safer method of getting

at the money of the consumer and manufacturer; the trader prefers silence; for the same reason the ruler encourages these weavers' guilds: through them he can control output, collect taxes, depress the worker, and enlist fighters.

There are a very great number of references to wool and weaving both in the Statute Book, the various records, and the "Fœdera." I do not propose to follow closely the twistings of incident and policy, the leanings to free trade or to protection, the prohibitions and licences which resulted from political affairs of England with Flanders and Spain or with the Hanseatic League. The king's business in the first instance was fighting; he had to provide the means for carrying on government; the dismal mental gamble—science, as it is called—of political economy was not in use. His only or chief interest in wool and weaving consisted in extracting from it all possible revenue. How the blow fell, whether on the native or on the alien, whether on the raw material or on the manufactured goods, whether at home or in transit or at an appointed place where the staple was set, depended on the ratio of profit to the king's exchequer, upon his need of money, upon his opportunities of borrowing, upon the uses of tariffs or prohibition to hit his enemies, and not at all upon any advantage to the industry.

He fought the Hansa by prohibiting the export of wool; he borrowed or obtained grants by offering competition for licences or monopolies to the native and alien money-lenders. Having got the money, he withdrew the monopoly and tried in another quarter. Having issued a general prohibition of export or import, he made revenue by freely granting licences to evade it.

The growing of wool and the weaving of cloth became the staple industries of England. They received every form of protection and encouragement which was consistent with being, as a staple, on the footing of coin, just as in the Orkneys wadmal was accepted as a standard of value. As cloth was in effect money, it fell to the king to treat it as money, controlling its width and quality by

statute,[2] and by the appointment of aulnagers or ell-measurers to see that the widths were correct. The king could not afford that his cloths in competition with those of other nations should be inferior. It was protected against the wool of other countries and against other materials. The Irish woollen trade was one of the many Irish industries destroyed by the English for fear of competition detrimental to English industry. When cotton, that Eastern plant which the Western world supposed to grow on trees, was introduced into Europe, England was one of the last countries to take up the industry for fear of its competition with wool. Penal laws were passed to prevent competition by cheap calicoes and cambrics. And the cold winters helped the monopoly.

When the East India Company received its charter and set out on its career of trade and conquest, one of the chief objections taken to its powers of monopoly was that the import of silk and cotton would injure the woollen trade. The desire to find a new market suitable for the export of woollen goods was a great factor in the expeditions to discover a passage by the north to Asia. The climate of the tropical East was against the use of woollen goods, and many things combined to make it very difficult in India, in the face of the fierce competition of Portuguese, Dutch, and French and the poverty and want of necessities in the people, to establish a market for English goods. As exports of the East India Company to India woollen goods as well as bullion did not pay, the profits being made on the goods imported to Europe. But they were compelled to export the woollen as the price of their monopoly to buy and sell the Eastern produce at a large profit.

The staple town, the place where the wool may be sold in market, where the exchange of goods of the different peoples takes place and the customs dues may be collected, changes with the necessities of foreign affairs and the supposed advantage to trade. In 1314 Philip of France asks Edward II to compel his merchants to bring their wools to the staple of St. Omer and to abandon the fair at Lille, to which the king replies that he will consult his

Council. In the same year Robert, count of Flanders, asks Edward to establish a staple at Bruges. In 1338 the wool granted to the king by Parliament was to be sent to Antwerp; in 1341 a staple of wool was established at Bruges. The merchants of the staple who conducted the trade at the staple towns had a monopoly of the trade. They collected the wool from the English farmers, and brought it to France, their warehouse in London being Staple Inn in Holborn. In 1348 a staple was appointed at Calais for seven years for tin, lead, feathers, and cloth; in 1353 the staple of wool was removed from Bruges to English towns. In 1358 the Company of Merchant Adventurers of England was incorporated. They made up the English wool into cloth and exported it. In the end they drove out the merchants of the staple. What is more, they began to use English vessels to carry their wool to the staple towns abroad, instead of relying on the ships of the Hansa and other foreign Powers.

Then in 1369 the foreign staple of wool was wholly suppressed and confined to English towns—Newcastle, Hull, Boston, Yarmouth, Queenborough, Westminster, Chichester, Exeter, and Bristol. In 1374 Geoffrey Chaucer, the King's esquire, was appointed controller of the customs and subsidy on wool, hides, and fleeces in London, "small and white and clean."

The prohibition to export extended to the English sheep. In 1338 the bailiffs of St. Botolph's were ordered to prevent the exportation of live rams for the purpose of improving foreign wool. The relations of Spain with the Low Countries enabled her to export Spanish wool with advantage for sale or exchange. In 1429 at Bruges, as a sign of her prosperity, the Order of the Golden Fleece was instituted. But occasional gifts of breeding stock were made by the English kings. In 1464, in the course of a treaty between Edward IV and Henry IV of Castile, leave was given to export some Cotswold sheep to improve Spanish wool. Edward IV in 1468 sent King John of Aragon some English ewes, and in 1480 licence was given to Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, to export 1000 oxen and 2000 rams

annually. (So Rymer's "Fœdera." I should be inclined to read twenty rams.) (Appendix D.)

All these shiftings, however, these changes, licences, and prohibitions refer to the gradual growth of the cloth manufacture at home in England. The increase in the import of woad in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the decrease in the revenue from the export of wool point to the increase in the weaving industry at home. The history of the English cloth manufacture was throughout the usual one of the struggle for work between the native who was learning the trade and the foreigner who was teaching him, the king, according to his political and financial necessities, inclining sometimes to the one and sometimes to the other, taking advantage of labour troubles in Flanders to invite skilled artisans to settle in England, and trying from time to time to protect them against the jealousy of home labour. Edward III, deeply involved throughout his reign with France and Flanders, makes great efforts to build up a cloth trade in England by settling the Flemish weavers in the islands. But he meets with fierce opposition from the English weaver, who is strengthening his monopoly by regulating his weavers' guild, refusing to admit the foreigner to it.[3]

In 1364 the Drapers' Company receives its charter, giving them a monopoly over the retail trade. In 1380 a revolt of the weavers of Louvain, who killed their magistrate, drove numbers of skilled artisans over to England. By the middle of the fifteenth century the English cloth was beginning to surpass the Flemish product. Rymer gives many examples of licences to export cloth, *e.g.* in 1364, 1388, 1393, 1398, 1493, and 1554 (by Queen Mary to the German Hansa), and there are various prohibitions to export cloth to various parts. The revenue from customs on wool exported decreased greatly and a subsidy on cloth attended or replaced the subsidy on wool.

As the trade grows, the dealings in it go through the usual course of development. First there is the travelling merchant or pedlar dealing in all kinds of cloth, then he

becomes a stationary merchant. Then in 1363 by statute the Government order the separation of the different varieties, the households dealing only in one kind of manufacture, and finally about the middle of the eighteenth century comes the merchant clothier with the factory system who buys the wool, superintends its stages of manufacture in the hands of his paid workmen, and sells the finished product to the clothier.

Fuller, in his "Church History," gives the list of places of cloth-making as follows (quoted from Ashley's "Woollen Industry"): Norfolk, fustians; Suffolk, Sudbury bayes; Essex, Colchester bayes and serges; Kent, broadcloths; Devonshire, kerseys; Gloucester and Worcester, cloth; Wales, friezes; Westmorland, Kendal cloth; Lancashire, Manchester cotton; Yorkshire, Halifax cloth; Somerset, Taunton serges; Hants, Berks, and Sussex, cloth. Norwich had a speciality of worsted cloth. Friezed or napped cloth frequently mentioned was an Irish manufacture. In 1376 it was ordered that frieze, made of Irish wool, was not to pay subsidy of aulnage, because they were not of the measure prescribed by the statute.

In 1625 comes a Commission to investigate the causes of the decline of the woollen trade.

One incidental result of the immigration of the Flemish weaver which was unlikely to have been anticipated by Edward III, though it may have had some influence on the fate of his grandson Richard, was the introduction into England of what some called heretical opinion and some reformed doctrine. Bottom, the Flemish weaver, was a quarrelsome, ill-behaved, ill-regulated fellow, tyrannous over the weaker, never contented either with this world or the next unless it were entirely of his own making, and ready to make a quarrel with anyone. He objected to any authority but his own. Through him, I think, through his dislike for authority, comes in the Wyclifian prelude of critical protest which grows later into the great revolt from Rome.

Section II. Wine and Coal

We pass south to our great colonial dependency of Bordeaux, and the wine trade. Here we touch again, as with the herring fisheries, on the foundation of our commercial prosperity, the mainstay of our imperial expansion, merchant shipping. The struggle through which the British Empire has just passed from 1914 to 1919 may enable us the better to understand the infinite confusion to commerce caused by war, and the difficulty of maintaining relations with outlying territory unless the home country has complete command of the sea. We may learn that the failures of the English kings to hold its outlying dependencies, the loss of Normandy in the thirteenth century and of Bordeaux and Normandy in 1453, were not due, as we are often led to suppose, to the wickedness or weakness of any king, but to various economic causes connected with shipping and trade.

Among the causes by which the loss came about were the dangerous disturbance of perpetual wars, the seizure of ships and cargoes and murder of crews by the enemy or by privateers or by pirates, the impressment for war purposes by their own government of trading vessels in the course of trading voyages, and chiefly and particularly the failure on the part of the English king to command the seas. Finance and man power forbade then, as it still does, that any European nation should be powerful both as a military and naval power at the same time on pain of national exhaustion. The attempt to cross nature in this respect ruined the French in the eighteenth century and may ruin us in the twentieth.

In mediaeval times the continental king, while prepared to defend lengthy land frontiers against likely enemies, made no attempt to compete with the great naval Powers north and south by the provision of a Royal Navy. When the Edwards and Henries meet the fleets of France, the Norman and Breton sailors are supported by Genoese, Spanish, or Hanseatic ships. One would suppose that the islanders, never a military people, dependent then as now

for their very existence on sea power, and mindful of their Roman, Saxon, Scandinavian, and Norman invasions, would have made provision in this respect. But it was not so. The navy was still the fyrd, the ships supplied by the towns on the coast; beyond this wars were carried on, so far as shipping was required, almost wholly by merchant ships either native or foreign, hired by the Crown, with a small nucleus of a few vessels owned by the king. Manned by soldiers and merchants and sailors and landsmen, such fleets from time to time won notable victories in the chequered scuffle. But it was not until the time of the Tudors that any attempt was made to create a Royal Navy; it was Cromwell who first used it as a permanent instrument of war, and as a useful auxiliary to arbitrary power.

As a consequence of the uncertainty so created, of the liability to capture and impressment at sea, much of the trade which should legitimately have been transacted with the islands either fell into the hands of neutrals or went to the enemy in France, who, warring by land, could dispose his forces for offence without regard to winds or tides, and with much less disturbance of trade for need of transport. The chance of impressment of the wagons and teams of the neighbourhood for the service of war was a much smaller risk to the merchant than the dangers at sea. Thus, in spite of the great amount of intermarriage between the English and French in Aquitaine, the many Gascon merchants resident in London, and the enormous wine trade of the south carried on through England, there was a steady leaning of the Anglo-French provinces to the French king at Paris, drawn by the more peaceful and certain conditions of trade.

In the islands, on the other hand, the French of Bow was replacing the French of Bordeaux; the quarrels between the "deux métropoles" of London and Bordeaux, and their reprisals on each other by duties on goods, harassing regulations, seizure and detention of vessels and cargoes, increased the uncertainties of the wine shippers; the wine fleets of Bordeaux were always liable to seizure on the seas by the Bretons, Spaniards, and Genoese who lay in wait

for them in the Bay or as they came up the Channel; the merchants of the Hansa, who brought in forbidden doctrines in the books hidden in bales of goods delivered at the Steelyard, were jealous fomenters of quarrel. The perpetual wars with France led the English kings to form alliances with Germany, Spain, and Flanders, until the day when the French blood of the royal family was to be finally diluted by Owen Tudor and James Stuart.

"Reprisals" by the Norman and Breton sailors on the Gascon ships and revenge taken by the men of England and Guienne fill the records. It was necessary for the safety of their foreign trade that the English should be masters of the foreign seas. Hence the importance to them of the possession of Calais. Controlling the narrows of the Channel, the English from their southern seaports could pounce upon merchant vessels from the north or the Mediterranean and hold them and their cargoes as reprisals for foreign seizure. Besides the perpetual game of war between the kings, the merchantmen themselves, sailing armed and in company, carried on a perpetual and irresponsible war of seizure and counter-seizure. Privateering grows out of the issue of letters of marque and reprisals to enable a merchant, whose goods had been seized, to attack the enemy's ships until he got an equivalent. It is very easy to see how such a permission developed piratical attacks where no equivalent was needed. (Appendix E.)

Of course the kings, for the protection of their military operations, forbade trading with the enemy, and of course the prohibition was disregarded, the attempt at its enforcement tending to discontent of the continental traders, and an inclination to accept sovereignty which would permit of free trade.

One of the great difficulties of mediaeval warfare, generally overlooked by the constitutional historian, was that the prohibition of trading with the enemy was not only injurious and even ruinous to a trade which was in the course of being built up and easily injured, but alienated the affection of the continental or colonial

possessions from the federal king. This would appear to have been a main cause for the loss of our continental possessions, especially of Aquitaine. A prosperity which depended entirely on foreign trade could not continue in close connection with England when the English king, at war with France, with Spain, with Flanders, prohibited imports and exports from and to those countries, while England had neither sufficient command of the sea to ensure safety for the shipping of the French provinces, nor a sufficient market in herself to enable her French provinces to disregard other markets. This was a condition greatly aggravated when Edward III was fighting France and Scotland with their Spanish and Genoese fleets, with the Low Countries uncertain and in political confusion. A petition to the king to right merchants whose ships had been seized for debt or acts of others or for trading with the enemy would be a lengthy proceeding and very risky if the king happened to be busily engaged. Under such conditions commerce was impatient of control and sought the most efficient protection.

That the trade with all parts of the islands was enormous and most lucrative appears from the many notices in the records and registers. Hull was a great centre for the trade on the east coast,[4] and Exeter, Bristol, and Chester of the west. The registry of the customs of Hull for 1444 were written in Gascon, being apparently a copy of the register of the castle at Bordeaux. Chaucer's sailor[5] who drank claret, was of Dartmouth.[6]

But London was the supreme port for the English wine trade. After unloading, the vessels went up the river Fleet as far as Holborn bridge (? where the old Bourn fell into the Fleet River) or even as far as Battle Bridge, near King's Cross station. A return of November 20, 1299, states that there had arrived in all parts of the kingdom (except the Cinque Ports) during the year seventy-three vessels with cargoes of wine, of which the smallest was nineteen tuns. Of wine the king was entitled out of every ship to two tuns at a fixed price. The kings bought enormous quantities of wine for war provision (*e.g.* 6 Edw. III,

six hundred barrels of wine are ordered for war in Ireland), and I am sorry to say did not always pay for it.

There was a great trade between Bordeaux and the Irish ports such as Cork,[7] but the relations of the English dependency with Scotland were very late, because of the perpetual war between the two countries. When established, however, there grew up a great trade which was still very flourishing in the late eighteenth century in Dr. Johnson's day. A great wine trade also went on with Flanders, and after Normandy had been lost to England, a considerable exchange of Norman corn for Bordeaux wines. Up to that time Normandy, which, united to England, was frequently at war with the neighbouring provinces, made its own wine, and later its own cider.[8] The Bretons and Spaniards acted in turn the part of consumers, carriers, and pirates.

The prohibitions of export frequently exclude Gascony, *e.g.* in June 1364 the collectors at Dartmouth are ordered to allow the export of cloth called "greybakkes and blankettes" to Gascony.

The indiscriminate seizure and plunder of merchant ships is a yearly occurrence of naval warfare, whether by the king or the merchant. In 1293 a hundred ships of the Cinque Ports took two hundred French ships laden with wine. In 1342 an order was made for the arrest of French merchants and merchandise at London and six other ports in retaliation for the capture of a London ship by the French.

When the king had no present need for his own ships, the nucleus of the royal navy, he traded with them or hired them out to merchants.[9]

As examples of the king's impressment of his own merchantmen for the navy, in 1336 there is an order to the commonalty of Bayonne to send into the English sea all their ships which are fit for war, and with them all the English merchant ships at Bayonne. On August 12, 1341, the commonalty of Bayonne are ordered to send twenty ships and twenty galleys for the king's passage to France. On September 2 he writes that he does not want them, as peace

with France is to continue. It is difficult to see how any shipping business stood up against such conditions. In 1348 writs are issued to the sheriffs of London and mayors and bailiffs of seventeen seaports to unload merchant ships and send them to join the fleet.[10]

It is very difficult in these times to distinguish between the ship of war in the king's fleet and the hired or impressed merchantman, or between regular naval engagements and the plunder of alien merchant fleets. The impotence of the English king to attain supremacy at sea or to ensure the safety of his coasts is shown by many entries. For instance, when the English fleet attack St. Malo, the French ravage Cornwall, and French and Spanish plunder both banks of the Thames to Gravesend.[11]

In 1337 the French and Genoese burnt Southampton and raided Jersey and Guernsey, while Edward invaded France. In this year the purveyor of victuals for the king's passage is ordered not to take any victuals except wine to any point within twelve leagues of the sea, as the enemy's fleet is near at hand. Many entries show the imminent risk of raids on the west. Colchester, for instance, was excused from sending members to Parliament for five years to enable the burgesses to wall their town.[12]

In 1350 Edward III and the Black Prince wait with fifty ships for the Spanish fleet coming to Flanders, and take twenty-six ships laden with merchandise and many men.

In 1360 the Treaty of Bretigny professed to make a final settlement, but nine years later the French king turned his back on it, and seized all the provinces ceded to England. Edward retained only Calais. In 1372 the English fleet, going to relieve Rochelle under the earl of Pembroke, was destroyed by the French and Spaniards, the earl, with 20,000 men, being taken prisoner. The enemy had machines for shooting great stones on to the English ships.

Edward fitted out four hundred ships and made great efforts, but without success, losing most of his continental possessions.

The English for their part destroyed a Flemish fleet, taking many ships laden with wine and salt, and taking as prisoners the admiral and many men.

In 1379 the French burnt Gravesend, Rye, Hastings, Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, and occupied the Isle of Wight. In 1387 the English under the earl of Arundel attacked a fleet of French, Flemings, and Spaniards, convoying ships laden with Rochelle wine. They took over a hundred ships, many prisoners, and 19,000 tuns of wine.[13]

As a last example—Warwick, the King-Maker, fitted out a fleet, attacked in the Straits of Dover a fleet of Genoese merchantmen bound for Lübeck with a cargo of Spanish merchandise, captured six, destroyed twenty-six, killed two of the crews, and plundered to the extent of £10,000.

By 6 Rich. II ship money was granted for guarding the seas, the French having taken so many English ships, and in 1406 an attempt which failed was made to arrange that the merchants themselves should guard the seas, being allowed three shillings per tun on imported wines, twelve pence per pound on merchandise, and the fourth part of the subsidy on wool and leather—showing the very serious character of the duty.

To a king so circumstanced the possession of an extensive continental seaboard was not an unmixed advantage. If it strained his resources to defend the islands from raids and to patrol the Channel, the strain became infinitely greater with the defence of the long French seaboard. On July 22, 1419, the commonalty of Bayonne wrote to the king that the king of Castile had equipped a fleet to convey Scots to the assistance of the French and to besiege Bayonne. In the middle of August the sheriffs of Devon and Cornwall were ordered to prepare a fleet to resist this attack. In September the Bayonnais again called for help, as the Spaniards were invading their country.

There is always a brisk competition for the transport of the Gascon products, Flemish, Spanish, Genoese, and Basque competing with the English merchants. But in

the end the perpetual wars between France and England threw the carrying trade into the hands of neutrals. Holland in particular added to her manufacturing businesses that of general carrier, a development which led in the seventeenth century, when the Hansa had broken up and the empire of Spain decayed, to wars between Holland and England for maritime supremacy. Edward III and his son, who were responsible for these suicidal wars, went to their graves full of glory and honour. The sins of the fathers were visited on the children when Richard of Bordeaux, unable to sustain the struggle against the increasingly consolidated power of France, was deposed and murdered by Henry IV.

Wine, like wool and herrings, besides its use for royal purposes and for the king's houses and castles, was used as cash, for gifts or payment of debts and wages. In 1255 there is an order for six casks of wine and ten oaks to be sent to the New Temple for the use of the envoys of the king of Castile; the Templars did a great business as wine merchants, as did the king himself. In 1292 a grant was made to Princess Mary, a nun of Fontevrault, living at Amesbury, of forty oaks annually for firewood and twenty casks of wine; in 1318 forty barrels of wine were ordered to be distributed among the inhabitants of Northumberland endamaged by the Scots; in 1357 a pipe of Gascon wine is to be sent to David le Bruys; in 1358 Henry Pycard, the king's butler, is ordered to take four casks of wine to Somerton for the use of his adversary of France. In 1307 one thousand tuns of good wine were to be shipped from Gascony for the coronation of Edward II, to be paid for by the Frescobaldi of Florence, who were then farmers of the king's revenues from the province. In 1338 barley, oats, and wine were to be sent to Berwick for the use of the king's castles in Scotland.[14] Edward orders six hundred barrels of wine for his wars in Ireland. In 1335–6 and 1338 there are entries of gifts of casks of wine as well as money and victuals to Edward Balliol, king of Scotland; in 1339 a cask of wine to Robert d'Artois.

Grants of the prisage, the customs duties on wine,

either as gifts or wages or as acknowledgment of former grants, are common. For instance, in 1309 the ancient prisage of wine in the port of Dartmouth was granted to Piers de Gaveston; in 1327 the prisage of wines in Ireland to James Butler; the seneschal of Gascony and constable of Bordeaux is ordered to restore to Oliver de Clisson his mother's right of custom at Bordeaux.[15] Or the king could make payment by exemptions from customs duties, by which the Crown was permanently impoverished. In 1279 the king granted £300 yearly out of the customs of Bordeaux; in 1342 the citizens of Bazas were exempted from customs on wine at Bordeaux; in 1451 the cardinal of Bordeaux is to be allowed to sell his wine without payment of custom.

The clergy everywhere were wine merchants on a large scale. In 1332 there is an order to justices to decide the right of the archbishop of York to prisage of wine at Hull.[16] In 1337 the cardinal of St. Mary in Aquiro is sending to Bordeaux to buy wine; in 1335 a safe conduct for thirty casks of Rhenish wine is being asked for by the archbishop of Cologne; in 1317 it is ordered that the same customs are to be paid at Bordeaux by the married clerks who trade in wine as by the laymen; in 1359 a prohibition is issued to the canons of St. Andrew's in Bordeaux against the levying of a custom called Liesak on wine. Jumièges and Wandrille on the Seine became great depots through which the monks imported large quantities of Gascon wines into France.

Of course the kings attempt again and again finally to fix the price of wine. John enacted that the "barrique de vin de Poitou" was not to exceed 20*s.* and "vin d'Anjou" 24*s.*, a price which was found to be too low;[17] in 1315 the king fixes the retail price of wine in the city and suburbs of London; 5 Rich. II, c. 4, fixes the price of Gascon, Spanish, and Rhenish wines at 6*d.* a gallon, and of Rochelle at 4*d.*; in 1633 the price of wines is settled by proclamation.

The jealousy of the two great towns and seaports, Bordeaux and London, colours all English history. It is a perpetual source of trouble to the English king.

The turbulent commune of London, says M. Michel, the potential insurrection of which the earl of Lancaster "avait su si bien tirer parti," looked with a jealous eye upon the Gascons, of whom a great many resided in London, on account of their hate for this ancient head of the popular party in England. Edward I interfered in a dispute between merchants of Guienne and the burgesses of London.[18] The London men took the opportunity of Edward's wars with the Scots and French to object to the privileges given to the Gascons. Bloody reprisals followed between English, Irish, Bayonnais, and Normans, with the result that in 1293 the king of France seized Bordeaux into his own hands. After a settlement had been made and peaceable trade reopened, the Normans collected a large fleet, and, pouncing on the traders, seized seventy ships, killed all on board, took the cargoes, and handed over the ships to their confederate pirates. The English retaliated by a raid from Portsmouth, meeting and defeating the Normans off the coast of Brittany. Then they seize Norman vessels on which merchants of Amiens and Abbeville have loaded Bordeaux wines.

Meanwhile the London merchants, helped by the Hansa, annoy the Gascons resident there by putting new duties on wines. In 1302 Edward issues an order favouring the men of Gascony. From this point, says M. Michel, the relations of his "deux métropoles continuèrent comme de plus belle."[19]

But when Edward II succeeded his father, the London men again began their dispute with Bordeaux. The Bordeaux merchants get a new order from Edward, but the London men ignore it. Edward issues further orders, but they delay, dispute, and ignore them. Finally in 1315 Edward forces the Londoners at least to pay the Gascons for the wines bought from them for his use.

A century later, in 1446, the Londoners are complaining to the men of Bordeaux of duties put on their merchandise there and threatening reprisals.[20]

The wine was paid for to a considerable extent by the export of fish; when Bordeaux was lost the herring trade went with the rest to Flanders.

The customary law of Bordeaux, which controlled cases of debt of alien merchants, appears to have been analogous in process to the Brehon law of Ireland, the goods distrained on being handed over to the creditor after three unanswered summonses. A similar customary law[21] obtained in Normandy. In the frequent case of dispute about ships or goods the delay in getting redress was undoubtedly very great, owing to the distance and the movements of the Courts. Seizure of merchant ships by foreigners could only be met by reprisals or long protest.[22]

In 1636 we meet with a licence to Francis Chamberlayne to make wine of raisins.

The entries and records relating to the use of sea coal for fuel in early times are very few, but they show faintly the beginnings of an export trade in coal. For instance, in 1234, Henry III, confirming the charter of Newcastle-on-Tyne, granted a licence to the citizens to "dig coals and stones in the common soil outside the walls, and convert them to their own profit." About the end of the reign of Edward I the trades of London were beginning to use Newcastle coal; in 1337 a hundred quarters of sea coal were among the goods to be delivered to the overseers of the works in the Tower for making anchors, and in 1367 we find a prohibition of the export of sea coal except to Calais.

In 1627 a patent is granted for an invention for making sea coal and pit coal as useful for fuel as charcoal, and in 1634 a duty of four shillings per chaldron is imposed on imported sea coal. There are several interesting references to the use of Newcastle coal in "Pepys's Diary."

The slow progress in the development of our great coal deposits resulted from the cost as compared with the still great supplies of wood for fuel, and from the mechanical difficulties connected with the sinking of mines, raising the coal to the surface and freeing the mines from water. The growth of the industry is another illustration of the part played by science and capital in obtaining any increase of wealth from the earth, a refutation of the silly falsehood taught to the industrial worker that all wealth is produced solely by his exertions.

CHAPTER IX

THE TRADE ROUTES TO THE EAST

Section I. The Routes from the Levant across Asia

While the English were growing wealthy on the trade in fish, wool, and wine, the continental nations were busying themselves with the trade of the East. Except for the operations of the Hansa, which from Novgorod on the Volga drew a steady stream of commerce from the East to the Baltic and North Sea, the trade of the East, so far as it was handled by Europeans, fell to the coast cities of the Mediterranean—Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Amalfi, Marseilles, Barcelona, and others. So long as these cities could use and control the original trade routes from the Mediterranean to the East, regardless of the Powers which ruled over the land, there was not only no need for them to seek new and longer routes to their markets, but the discovery of a new way to the East from without their inland sea would certainly result in the entrance into their markets of new rivals.

A very different spirit must have influenced the peoples outside the inland sea, who could not hope to compete with the Italian cities for the trade of the East by the known routes. The traditions of the voyages beyond the Pillars of Hercules in times past appealed with far greater force to them. It would be strange indeed if the men of Cadiz or Lisbon, whether Moor or Iberian, were unacquainted with the legend of the voyages made from Carthage to the far south, or the traditions of the Scandinavian voyages to Wineland, or the many broken tales and half-told stories of disastrous expeditions down the

West African coast which from time to time excited the curiosity of the merchant world.

However the Church might formulate theories about the earth and its surface, the men who moved, who adventured for gain on the Atlantic coasts, did not theorise. They observed. Any seaman who had made the sharp turn to the East in the Bight of West Africa, or had heard a tradition of it, might well believe, even if the adventurer had been compelled to turn back for want of food and water, that perseverance would find him a way by sea to Eastern Asia.

So when Columbus, fortified by a mass of traditionary beliefs, seeks Asia by the West, he notices the currents which carry the drift wood and wreckage; when Vasco da Gama rounds the Cape to the East, he finds at Mozambique Moors possessed of charts, quadrants, and compasses. Theirs was the final success after many years of preparation.

The ancient trade routes from the Mediterranean to the East, in use for all time, represented partly to-day by lines of railways, were as far as possible water routes, using the great rivers and lakes as well as the seas, and avoiding the wastes of desert sands and horrid mountains of Asia.

The chief routes across Asia from east to west lay (1) by way of Kashgar, Samarcand, and Bokhara to the river Oxus, and thence round the northern shores of the Caspian Sea to the Volga, a route by which the merchandise of the East could be brought to the Hansa depot at Novgorod for shipment to the Baltic; or (2) by various routes across the higher valleys of the Indus by way of Peshawar, Cabul, Balkh, and Merv, or by Moultan, Ghazni, Zerengi, and Herat to Meshed and to Astarabad at the south-eastern point of the Caspian. From Astarabad the merchandise could either be shipped across the Caspian Sea to the mouth of the Kura River, and thence by river to Tiflis, and from Tiflis by the Phasis River to Phasis on the Black Sea, or by way of Tabriz and Erzeroum to Trebizond on that sea, for shipment across the Black Sea to Constantinople and Kaffa, or across the Black Sea to the mouth of

the Dnieper River, and up the Dnieper to Novgorod. Or from Astarabad (very likely the oldest route of all) the caravan could strike across the desert to Baghdad on the Tigris for the markets of Chaldaea. Then from Baghdad by way of Rakka and Aleppo it would go to Antioch, or by Rakka or Palmyra to Damascus, and by several coast routes from Damascus—routes which were controlled by the Crusaders' kingdoms—by Tyre and Acre, or by way of Rabbah and the Gulf of Akaba to Egypt.

There were sea-routes as well. The goods of the East could be brought from the Indus, and from points on the west coast of India by a painful coasting voyage along the coast and up the Persian Gulf to Ormuz and Basra. Thence from Basra they could be shipped up the Tigris to Baghdad. Or the merchant could sail round the Arabian coast from Muscat to the Red Sea, and so to Cairo and Damietta. When the seaman had acquired a knowledge of the monsoons he could strike across the Indian Ocean to some point on the Arabian coast or even to Aden, and so by the Red Sea to the Egyptian ports. (Appendix F.)

As the crusading spirit decayed there fell across all these roads of trade in turn the shadows of the great Asiatic empires, barbaric, resting on military supremacy and an autocracy supported by force. About the middle of the eleventh century the Seljukian Turks were overwhelming the Moslems in Persia; in the first years of the thirteenth century the flood of the Mongol Tartars, under Ghengis Khan, drowned the civil life of Asia. In 1258 they took Baghdad, and at the beginning of the fifteenth century, under Timur, blocked the routes through Syria.

When in 1453 the suicidal conflict between Venice and Genoa, and the apathy induced by the desire of the Church of Rome to depress the rival patriarchates of the East led to the fall of Constantinople, all the trade routes were blocked by the savages except that by the Red Sea. The Turks, supported by the pirates of the North African coast, were gradually becoming the ruling sea-power of the Mediterranean. Their fleets dominated the Levant; in 1516 they seized Egypt and drove the Venetian traders, who

were quite willing to make commercial treaties with the infidel, from Greece and Cyprus.

Though the trade between the East and West still continued, it was carried on under the greatest disadvantage by the Western nations, and with vastly diminished profits and volume of trade.

Section II. Prince Henry the Navigator

While the popes and some kings were intriguing with the conquerors of Central Asia in the hope of using these hordes against their nearer enemy, the civilised Saracen, the seamen were contemplating new ways to the West. It was a Portuguese prince, the grandson of John of Gaunt, who pointed the way to the discovery of the ocean route to the East.

English soldiers under John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, the uncle of Richard II, had helped to defeat the claims of his rival claimant of the throne of Castile to that of Portugal. He had married, as his second wife, Constance, the daughter of John, first king of Castile, and he claimed the throne of Castile through her. To strengthen his position an alliance between England and Portugal was formed, and in 1387 the two daughters of John of Gaunt were married, Catherine, the daughter by his first wife, to the heir to the throne of Castile, and the younger, Philippa, by his Spanish wife, to John the Great, king of Portugal. One of the sons of John the Great and Philippa has passed down in history under the name of Prince Henry the Navigator. He did not himself personally conduct the expeditions of adventure, but living a hermit life at Sagres, on a rocky promontory at the extreme south of Portugal, he undertook the thankless and difficult work of organising and despatching a series of expeditions, finding men and money for ventures not seldom disastrous failures, buoying them up with hope, and supplying the earnest spirit and high motives essential for success. So equipped the successive expeditions which were sent out by him sailed to the south round the west coast of Africa, each, even the most

unsuccessful, gaining a little knowledge or a little ground on the ones that went before, until in 1486, twenty-six years after the death of the Prince, Bartholomew Diaz rounds the Cape of Good Hope and sees the coast turn to the north before him.

As Grand Master of the Order of Christ, which benefited greatly by gifts following on his discoveries, it was the duty of Prince Henry to convert the heathen. For this purpose treating his great venture, when the Crusades in the East were ending in disaster, not only as a bold effort to discover new worlds, but as a fresh renewal in the West of the attempt to spread Christianity at the expense of the followers of Mohammed, the Prince in his retreat at Sagres went beyond the limits of the Church's teaching and called to his assistance the science which it despised and sometimes condemned. He gathered about him at Sagres men of note and employed them in map-making, mathematics, astronomy, and all branches of science which could assist the ventures of his captains in spite of the danger that these branches of knowledge, being well known to and cultivated by the Moors and Jews, might be condemned as heretical.

An entirely new class of ships was required for Atlantic voyaging. Prince Henry paid attention to shipbuilding to such effect that the Portuguese caravel became the best built ship upon the seas. In his school were trained all the greatest navigators and discoverers; besides his own captains, Columbus, Magellan, and Amerigo Vespucci took their training in Portugal. Prince Henry was the pioneer of the discovery of the known world. In some part it was a rediscovery of the world by the European Christian.

The Cape had probably been doubled from the East by Mohammedans early in the fifteenth century, to say nothing of the traditions of voyages and shipwrecks in Roman times. But the knowledge of any such ventures was hidden from mediaeval Europe, and as I have pointed out, it was not to the interest of the Mediterranean republics to encourage any exploration in this direction. Caravans came from Timbuctoo to the north coast of the

Mediterranean, but knowledge of the route remained with the Mohammedan world. The Atlantic coast south of Cape Nun had not yet come into practical view, though it was probably known that land existed as far as Cape Bojador. Any communication with the interior of Africa was by caravan overland across the desert. What the Europeans did know was that beyond the fringe of Moorish dominion on the northern coast of the Mediterranean stretched an apparently illimitable desert.

For the student of imperial history the conditions under which Prince Henry, in those eventful years when the traditional trade routes to the East were being gradually closed to the European trader by the hordes of Asia, pushed forward the boundaries of the known world to European civility, the many difficulties by which his quest into the unknown was attended, are of the highest interest.

All authority, however much the practical seaman might doubt and question, was against any great extension of habitable earth to the south, or of any road to the East by that way. The crazy pictures, miscalled maps, centred on Jerusalem (I am ignoring the practical *portulani* of the Mediterranean seamen) were unsuspicious of the Western hemisphere, and in the Eastern knew nothing of further Asia or of Northern Europe, and stopped short with the northern strip of African coast, as representing the limit of human habitation. The men who sailed to the south on the outer edge of the world not only so sailed in impious opposition to all the theory of the earth's surface, but without any chart to tell them of the trend of earth or dangers of the sea.

The use of the compass at sea, though known, was almost certainly very tentative, and the results likely to be inaccurate. It would be hard to expect the crews to trust themselves out of sight of land with no other aid to direction, especially as the perfection of the instrument was delayed by the suspicion of it being the agency of magic. The astrolabe, a very rough means of direction only now being made practicable, was the chief instrument in use for determining the position and direction of the voyagers.

You must add to this the character of the crews, including generally men of reckless nature and questionable record, and the little authority over them of the officers. Many of the voyages were wrecked either by mutinies, or by the insistence of the crews that they had gone far enough and should now return.

The Prince began his operations by sending ships every year down the west coast to feel the way beyond Cape Nun to the south. For the present the seamen did not dare lose sight of land, running great risks on that account from shoals and currents. The traditions of the terrors to be met with were so strong that the progress at first was very slow indeed. How very real those terrors were it is hard to express to a generation which has ceased to believe in the evil power who could take a material form, who might become albatross or flying fish, or in magic which could draw the nails out of the ship's frame, or in the avenging spirit who used the currents and the shoals to punish the seaman whose uneasy conscience called for suffering.

Prince Henry's first expedition is supposed to have set out in 1415, but no satisfactory result accrued until 1418, when an appropriate beginning was made by a storm which drove the explorers from the coast and sent them in the direction of the island of Porto Santo. An expedition sent by the Prince to settle it discovered Madeira.

Madeira had been discovered, also as the result of a storm, by a pair of runaway English lovers, sailing for France in the reign of Edward III. The extraordinary romance of that voyage, told by Major in Chapter V of his "Discoveries of Prince Henry the Navigator," was known, through the medium of a Spanish sailor who had survived and returned from imprisonment in Morocco, to the discoverers of Porto Santo. With his help Prince Henry's ships found Madeira and settled it. The settlement proved a very successful one. There was much very valuable timber on the island. Malvoisie grapes were imported from Crete, wine made, and sugar and wheat grown. The daughter of one Perestrello, an emigrant who

became governor of Porto Santo, married later Christopher Columbus.

So slow was the progress at first that it was not until 1434 that Prince Henry's ships passed Cape Bojador, a cape dangerous owing to the shoals on its northern shores. To the force of the breakers and the fear of standing out to sea, by which they might lose the wind or be driven by storms into the ocean, were added the stories told by seamen of the horrors to be encountered beyond it.

The continuance of the expedition was delayed by a terribly abortive attack made by the Portuguese under Prince Henry on the Moors at Tangier, resulting in the death in captivity of his brother, Prince Fernando. In 1441 they were resumed, and the captains reached Cape Blanco. They kidnapped some natives on the way, not as desiring to enslave them, but in the hope that, learning the Portuguese language, they would be able to act as interpreters between the Africans and the Portuguese. To some extent this was effected, but the Portuguese had not realised that in the social system in which these men lived each tribe was an enemy to the one adjoining it, and that the language of one was not necessarily known to the other. From this time the pioneers brought home numbers of natives of both sexes acquired by capture and barter. They began the slave trade.

Prince Henry now obtained from the Pope a bull giving to Portugal any lands discovered beyond Cape Bojador to the Indies. In 1445 they passed the river Senegal. One Juan Fernandez was left on the coast by his own desire and passed some months among the Moors, obtaining a considerable amount of valuable information.

The discovery of the islands in the Atlantic proceeded side by side with the unrolling of the coast map. In 1432 Santa Maria, one of the Azores, was discovered—a discovery which shows very clearly the danger and difficulty of Atlantic exploration. The Azores are fairly close to each other, but it was some years after the discovery of Santa Maria when St. Michael's was seen by a runaway slave from the highest point on the island on a very clear

day. Prince Henry was notified, and an expedition was sent in search of the new island. But though it passed between the two islands, it returned without finding St. Michael's. A second expedition was necessary.

It is in connection with the settlement of the Azores that we first come upon the Flemings as explorers and colonists through Isabel, duchess of Burgundy, sister of King Edward of Portugal and Prince Henry.

In 1446 Prince Henry sent an expedition to seize the Canaries, which had been discovered by a Norman nobleman in the name of the king of Castile about 1402.

In 1456 the Cape Verde Islands were discovered.

In 1455 an important expedition was made by one Cadamosto, a Venetian in Prince Henry's service, by way of Madeira and the Canaries to Cape Blanco. Thence he went inland by camel a long distance to a stopping place for the caravans from the northern coast to Timbuctoo, and then on to the river Senegal and to the country south of it. He learnt much about the trade carried on with the natives of Melli, Timbuctoo, and other places for gold, and the merchandise for which it was exchanged. Coming back the ships reached the river Gambia, but found the negroes hostile to them. Next year the expedition, going back to the Gambia River, found the natives, though timid for fear of reprisals, very friendly and willing to trade.

These first Mediterranean explorers of the Atlantic coast had some excuse if on occasion they acted savagely towards the natives of West Africa. They, as the first white men seen, were often surprised and attacked on landing, seeing on one occasion from their ships their comrades killed and eaten by the savages. Yet these early Portuguese appear to have behaved with remarkable forbearance on many occasions, the influence of Prince Henry and his desire to convert the natives to Christ exercising a restraining influence on men to whom life must have been cheap. As a rule a large part, in some cases more than half, of the crews of these voyages never returned. The time had not yet come for the hideous cruelties of the Papal Inquisition.

Prince Henry's men went sixty miles up the Gambia and traded for gold and slaves with the negro king. Here they saw elephants and hippos. They appear to have touched a point beyond the line of the Mohammedan merchants of the northern coast. They went as far south as the Rio Grande or Bolola River. In 1460 Prince Henry died.

As a result of his unselfish efforts to enlarge the boundaries of the known world, Prince Henry spent all his revenues and died deeply indebted to friends. The first inventor or discoverer seldom in any case has any reward except the *mens conscia recti*. After his death for a time the exploration slackened and Atlantic voyaging was concerned more with commerce, the isle of Arguin, in lat. 21°, south of Cape Blanco, being fortified as a centre of exchange for the growing trade in gold and negroes.

Section III. The Result of His Explorations

The actual number of miles of coast explored, possibly some 1500 or 1600 beyond Cape Nun, in the Prince's lifetime, the material gains to the world, may seem to be very little indeed in themselves. But in this world exploration the first step counted for thousands that came after. Prince Henry, though the voyages in his lifetime had not reached the equator, had not even made the sharp turn to the Bight of Benin, or heard the roar of the Sierra Leone, had broken for ever the chains which held the Christian world from advance in the West, had swept away the legends of unearthly terrors which had hitherto precluded such exploration, had proved the possibilities of Atlantic voyaging, and had provided and perfected ships and instruments to reduce as far as practicable the dangers to be encountered. The great names imprinted in the glistering foil set off by the world, the Genoese Columbus, the Portuguese discoverers Diaz, Da Gama, Cabral, Magellan, Vespucci, were fruit from the tree of which Prince Henry had sown the seed.

For one man to pursue a definite end, to provide the

means and to organise the endeavours, was an essential for success, but that was not all. That Prince Henry practically devoted his life to this inquiry without hope of reward for himself beyond the glory of discovery, and exposed to sneering criticism of failure, gave to the enterprise a character which enabled him to control the captains who would have sacrificed the unselfish end for the material gain. It was not, of course, intended that the expeditions should not result in gain, but that the gain must be strictly subordinate to the great end in view. His expeditions were not infrequently endangered by the dawdling for gainful trade and the unwillingness to face danger and death of those to whom they were entrusted, as well as by the discontent and hostility with which the apparent waste of energy and revenue were regarded by those at home. Only his personal example of unselfish aim overbore the natural desire for immediate profit. Without such an example it is unlikely that the discoveries would have extended far beyond the then known limits of the earth, especially as the fall of Constantinople in 1453 called all the Christian Powers to fight the Mohammedan in the Levant and in Eastern Europe. I would even go so far as to suggest that the attacks made on Mohammedan trade in the West and South and eventually in the East by Prince Henry and his successors went far to obviate the danger of a possibly fatal issue to Europe of the Turkish attack from the East. It was in fact a Crusade, and a successful Crusade, by a Portuguese prince, the grandson of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster.

In such exploration as this a great independent leader is called for. No great discovery, no continuous exploration is associated with the communal societies. There is too much diversity of interest, too little concentration of wealth and energy to permit of continuity of effort. More than this the socialist state is incapable of the singleness of purpose which arms the great pioneers of discovery, the willingness to encounter death and danger for love of being the first to find new lands without thought of the material results which may come from the find. A few men only

in any age are possessed of this purity of intention; in this case a great aristocrat, a man who has not to prove his right to lead by heading himself a filibustering expedition, a man who does not stand in need of the material gain, and need not consider it.

The Italian republics, which in Prince Henry's day stood at the head of maritime experience, although they later gave Columbus under Portuguese training for Atlantic exploration, were far too much concerned in defending their trade in the East to make voyages beyond Gibraltar. But apart from this a republic is always the most short-sighted and selfish of social systems, looking only to immediate profits, and expecting of its rulers quick material returns for the powers given to them. No republic, and no political system which takes republican form, is in the least likely to risk any adventure which does not offer results immediately measurable in ready money.

When calculating the chances of future permanence for the British Empire, there is one very deep difference to be kept in mind: this is the origin and cause of the development of the Portuguese Empire, and after it that of Spain, by exploration and discovery of unknown lands, as compared with the seizure from other Europeans and settlement or cession by treaty of the territories composing the British Empire. The Portuguese and Spanish discoveries into absolutely unknown lands were undertaken by the Crown, without any appeal for support to the people, such exploration at least in Prince Henry's case being undertaken in the face of much hostile comment, and with no help from the critics. As the work was undertaken by the Crown, the Crown (so far as the Church did not benefit from the quasi crusade, a very large exception) took all the profits and established a monopoly of trade. The same might be said to a great extent of French exploration. As the results of the discoveries became valuable, government monopoly penalised independent enterprise and discouraged individual responsibility. Thus when the monopolies of Portugal and Spain, secured to them by the Papal Bull, were challenged by the private traders of Holland, France,

and England, there was little inducement for the original settlers, heavily taxed for the benefit of the Crown monopoly, to resist with any earnestness the illegal trading which brought them cheaper goods or necessary food.

On the other hand, the Welsh Tudors and their stingy successor, Scottish James, encouraged their subjects to undertake the full burden of, and responsibility for, their trading raids on Portuguese and Spanish settlements, and any settlement of new lands. When the British joined in the outpouring of the nations, the outlines of the new world had been drawn, and the claims staked by the Mediterranean Powers. The British did no large amount of exploration themselves, except in the extreme north, bending their energies to break down the monopoly of trade which had been established both east and west by Portugal and Spain, and disputing with their ancient enemy France over her newly annexed lands.

For this purpose the British sovereigns encouraged the raiding expeditions of their armed traders without burdening the royal revenue by much outlay, lending ships occasionally, taking a share in the ventures, and a good part of the profits, if any; turning the back if the expeditions proved barren of financial result, or if the slave-raids of Hawkins, or the buccaneering of Drake or Raleigh brought entanglements with foreign States. The settlements, such as Virginia and Newfoundland, were left to take care of themselves when it was clear that they did not contain large deposits of precious metals; the Chartered Companies, to whom monopolies were granted, such as the East India Company, were supported but little either against the Portuguese or the Dutch. Few nations can boast a king whose conduct was as pusillanimous as that of the Stuart after Amboyna. But the effect of this indifference on the part of the Crown was to implant in the Anglo-Irish, and later in the Scot, the sense of individual and social responsibility, which was wanting in the Latin nations whose trade was subject to meticulously regulated government supervision. It was a sense of responsibility for action independent of the ruler—a sense which led him

to fight for his own hand, for his illicit trade, and for the lands on which he settled, to acquire, in the course of open competitive trading, rights as in Bengal which led to sovereignty, to obtain territory by treaty rather than by conquest. In fact, owing to the difference in origin and development, the British Empire has been built up, for the most part, by the method which we affect to despise so much in the German, peaceful penetration by trade. And it is none the worse for it. Though generally quite unconscious of the fact, the British owe their Empire to the Merchant Service.

I do not propose to follow in any detail the further advance to the south after the death of Prince Henry. We all know that it is the first step that costs.

In 1469 the king rented the trade of the coast, which had no doubt now become considerable, for five years to Fernando Gomez, reserving the ivory trade and stipulating for the discovery of one hundred leagues of coast annually, to begin from Sierra Leone. Progress became easier and quicker. As the explorers progressed, the imaginary terrors one by one disappeared; in 1471 they crossed the equator, a further disturbance of the recognised views of the earth's surface; they traded more freely with the negroes, who on the Congo asked for baptism and prayed to have missionaries sent to them; they became acquainted with Hottentots and Bushmen; they brought home natives to learn Portuguese and become interpreters.

The Christian evangelist to the Congo at once struck on the sharp rock of polygamy, that most difficult of all problems for the missionary in countries where women do all the work and provide the food. It is the greatest obstacle always to the spread of the Christian religion in pagan lands, not only on account of the succession by children, which difficulty was in this case settled by force, but because of the helpless position of the cast-off wives whom the generally married missionary orders the polygamous chief to put away.

It is an instance of the fact that the cartographer waits on the results of personal exploration, and that much that

is discovered and known is forgotten if not of use for commerce, never reaching to the ears of the crowd who read history, that a map of this kingdom of Congo, published in Rome in 1591 with a narrative given by a Portuguese missionary who had spent nine years from 1578 to 1587 on the Congo, shows the lakes Albert and Victoria Nyanza, the sources of the Nile, discovered by us in the nineteenth century. The account placed a people, who used ships and writing and weights and measures and stone houses, on the banks of the Victoria Nyanza, a very likely eastern settlement which faded away.

An ambassador sent by the king of Benin in 1485 to the king of Portugal, with a request for missionaries, told of a great empire three hundred miles to the east, and of immense wealth there. Believing now that they were in touch with the fabled kingdom of Prester John, the king of Portugal sent out two expeditions to reach it, one in May 1487 consisting of two men, Pedro de Covilham and Alfonso de Payra, by way of the Mediterranean and Egypt, and the other in August 1486 by sea to the south under Bartholomeo Diaz.

CHAPTER X

THE WORLD DISCOVERED BY PORTUGAL

Section I. The First Voyages to the East

Covilham and De Payra travelled together as merchants and pilgrims to Venice, and as pilgrims, and as we should now say as tourists, by way of Cairo and Tor to Aden, where they parted company. De Payra crossed to Suakin to find the empire of Prester John in Abyssinia, and Covilham went east on an Arabian ship to Cananor, Calicut, and Goa. Then he crossed to Africa to Sofala, where there were gold-mines, thus linking up Diaz's voyage round the Cape with the Indian Ocean. He made inquiry about the island of the Moon (Madagascar), but does not appear to have visited it. He returned to Cairo, where he was met by Rabbi Abraham and Joseph of Lamego, messengers from King John, with the news of the death of De Payra.

Covilham went with Abraham up the Persian Gulf; then leaving him to carry home to the king the account of his findings Covilham crossed to Abyssinia. Here he made himself so necessary to the king that he was detained; he married there and lived for thirty-three years, not returning to Portugal. But the information received by the king made certain not only the wealth to be gotten at first hand in the East, but that Asia could be reached by rounding Africa in the south.

Meanwhile the expedition by sea had started under Bartholomeo Diaz. It met with stormy weather and drove for many days before the wind out of sight of any land. When at length they turned east towards the land and found it, they had doubled the Cape without knowing it. They found the land to their west. Sailing up the

east side of the continent, they went as far as the Great Fish River (Rio di Affonte) beyond Algoa Bay. Here, to the intense chagrin of Diaz, his weary men compelled him to turn back. The expedition had left Lisbon in August 1486: it reached home in December 1487.

It would be, one would think, a natural consequence of such a discovery, combined with the information sent back by Covilham of the certainty and ease of the further route to the East, that new expeditions should have been sent out by the little nation to open up trade by this new route. Instead, nothing further was done till 1497, the Portuguese contenting themselves with the development of the growing trade on the west coast of Africa. The state of affairs in Portugal, the family troubles and long illness of King John, ending in his death in 1495, may account for the check in explorations which rested with, and were financed by, the Crown. But I am inclined to guess that, like the present position of flying across the Atlantic, the venture, though shown to be practicable, to be wonderful, to be a source of great national pride, more wonderful, in fact, as continuous exploration than anything done before or since, did not yet appear likely to become profitable as a commercial route. There was no money in it.

The immense length of the voyage compared with that by the Mediterranean and Red Sea, the great losses in ships and men,[1] the manifold dangers and certain sufferings of the voyagers, the difficulty of taking in their tiny and not always seaworthy ships the necessary supplies of food and water or of obtaining them *en route*, the fearful storms round the Cape, the currents and winds, the fevers to be feared, the hostility of the blacks, the comparatively little trade of small bulk [2] to be looked for on the African coast—all these would weigh very heavily in the balance as against the backsheesh to be paid to the controllers of the nearer route, so long as that route was open at all to the European, even on humiliating terms. The profits made by the middleman which could be gained, and later on were gained by first hand trading, had not yet been realised.

Men were no longer wholly actuated by the spirit which induced Prince Henry to sink his fortune in the ventures. The Portuguese were no doubt the Crusaders in the East, imbued with a hatred of the Moslem who had seized the Holy Sepulchre; the instinct was to retaliate by seizing their trade in the East. But the seizure of trade at its source by this route meant a great expenditure and very great risks. Bigger ships with stronger backs and heavier and more expensive fittings of all descriptions had to be built before the Atlantic voyaging could become a commercial success. The delay in following up Diaz's advance is explained by the great expense incurred in fitting out such an expedition, the manifold risks incurred and the questionable chances of repayment.

The vanity of our young people is so persistently fed with the legend of the great superiority of the English over all other Europeans, as evidenced by the deeds of his own later adventurers on the sea, that the great debt is ignored which is owed by us and all the world to the Portuguese discoverers who, at a terrible cost to their tiny nation, opened up for European trade the entire East from farthest China and Amboyna to the Red Sea and explored the whole coast of Africa and its islands. When in 1591, at least a hundred and seventy-three years after Prince Henry's first expedition, the first desperate efforts by English sailors to reach India by the Cape were made, the sea-way, blazed for so long by the Portuguese, had lost many of its terrors. Possibly the most dangerous and most persistent enemy of world exploration which remained was scurvy.

The enterprise of Portugal was revived when John was succeeded by Manoel the Fortunate. He sent out a new expedition to the East. But even this enterprise was purely a royal adventure. The Council of State was almost unanimous against it; the popular anger and contempt, which, considering the great loss of life in such a small population, was to be expected, showing itself when the expedition sailed.

Four ships, of which the largest was 120 tons, but most carefully equipped, sailed in July 1497 under Vasco da

Gama. Touching at the Cape of Good Hope and passing by the Great Fish River, the farthest point of Diaz's advance, they came on Christmas Day to land which from the day they called Natal. In January 1498 they reached the Zambesi River, here meeting Mohammedan merchants who were trading with the Kaffirs. By March 10 they came to Mozambique, where they found large undecked native ships with sails of palm matting. The traders had Genoese compasses, quadrants, and sea charts. By April 7 they made Mombasa, and on April 15, Easter Day, Port Melinda. Here they found ships of Indian Christians. They entered into peaceful relations with the king of the district, and from him they obtained a Christian pilot under whose guidance they reached Calicut on May 20, 1498.

At Calicut the Portuguese touched the most ancient point of commercial contact between India and Europe by way of Egypt, and between India and Syria by way of the Persian Gulf. The natives, accustomed to commerce with many peoples, were themselves a mixed race, holding various religions, including a good many native Christians of St. Thomas, willing to welcome strangers and indifferent to the religious faiths of those with whom they did business. But the Moplahs or Mappillahs, as the foreign Mohammedan traders from the Persian Gulf or Arabia were called, were bitterly hostile to the new arrivals. Embittered by the attempts on the East by the Western Crusades and the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, they were only too willing to begin a new religious war with the Portuguese Christian.

With them, as with their opponents, the war took on the double aspect of a war for religion and for trade. The Portuguese pioneer, with whom trade was of the first importance, was still not unmindful of his mission to convert the heathen. He bore the brunt of the European invasion in a Crusade in the Far East to replace the Mohammedan by the Christian faith, but at the same time as an aggressive trader to gain for the Christian European the markets hitherto held by the Arabian. The two objects go on side by side and must be taken together. Trade and adventure

were undoubtedly the objects of the rank and file of every expedition. The monks and friars who accompanied the expeditions, the king and nobles at home, and a few single-minded leaders were no doubt insistent for the spread of Christianity among the heathen in the stead of the Moslem faith. In the Indian Buddhist they saw, if not an actual Christian, a potential one. As a mere matter of discipline among hardly restrained and mutinous crews of soldiers and sailors the crusading aspect of the expedition had to be kept constantly in the foreground. There was good reason for this aspect among Catholic leaders. So long as Western Europe denied freedom of individual opinion, claiming obedience to one Christian Church, it was part of a social duty to convert the heathen. The Catholic nations were proselytisers and sincere because they represented a united society repressing social evils. When the breach comes, and the Protestant Powers enter the East and West Indies, they come as the exponents of the doctrine of freedom of individual religious opinion. Being weak, they practised it both in the East and West Indies in contrast to the conduct of the Latin nations, while at home they vied with them in brutal repression of opinion, whether it was Henry VIII torturing the Friars Observant, Elizabeth trying to exterminate the Irish, James burning witches, the Cromwellian murdering Irish Catholic children on the plea that nits make lice, Calvin burning other differing Protestants, or the saints of Massachusetts flogging Quakers and burning old women as witches.

There is far too much Protestant propaganda about Catholic intolerance in English notices of our expansion. It is absurd to suppose, whatever the leaders did, that the desperate and reckless men from whom any of these earlier expeditions, whether they called themselves Catholic or Protestant, were recruited, cared about the spread of Christianity. They risked their lives for gain.

As in the course of time the invaders felt their superior strength and either found themselves free from the distant control at home, or were urged by those in Europe to burn and torture in the name of Christ, the

venom of persecution for the faith, which marked the Dominican, was developed to the detriment of the Portuguese and Spaniard. The Portuguese trader was at the first apparently a tolerant Christian inquisitive for trade. But he steadily deteriorates, and when the Crowns of Spain and Portugal are united in 1580 under Philip II of Spain, the Portuguese interests in the East are starved both for men and money, and the Inquisition at Goa makes the very name of the Christian faith to stink in the Indies, both East and West.

When Da Gama landed at Calicut there was no Mogul Empire in India. The peoples of the Malabar coast, confined by the western Ghauts, were governed by petty princes in many small States. Calicut was governed by a Hindoo prince, who professed a willingness to be friendly with the strangers, in spite of the opposition and fierce jealousy of the Arab Moplahs. But both parties were suspicious of the other; the expedition was ill prepared with goods for Eastern trade; Da Gama had no proper presents to offer the king; the Arab merchants made all the mischief they could, and depreciated the value and quality of the little merchandise brought by the Portuguese. After a dangerous and disturbed stay of months they left for Portugal on August 29, carrying with them five men of the place whom they had detained as hostages. Da Gama carried back a letter to the king of Portugal from the rajah in reply to one which he brought with him.

Da Gama's seizure of the Hindoos and the jealousy of the Arab traders, who represented the Portuguese, not as traders, but as robbers, led to the expedition being pursued by ships from Calicut: Da Gama's fleet had to dodge Indian and Arab pursuers, official and unofficial. He touched at Cananor, where he received further cargo. Escaping from many dangers after three months at sea fighting contrary winds and cross seas, they reached on January 7, 1499, Port Melinda on the African coast, with the loss of thirty men from scurvy.

An account of this voyage by an anonymous author, one of the party,[3] tells us that whilst they were at Calicut

some fifteen hundred Moorish ships came in. The route taken from Calicut by these Arab traders was to Alexandria by Jeddah, Tor, Cairo, and Rosetta, paying customs dues at each of these places to the Grand Sultan. There were also four-masted vessels from China. The products of the East mentioned by this authority are pepper, cotton cloth, silk, cinnamon, aloes-wood, sapphires, benzoin, Brazil wood, rhubarb, and frankincense; from Malacca, cloves, nutmeg, porcelain, silk, and tin; from Burmah, rubies, gold, lac (Appendix G), and silver. According to this account, the Europeans were as early as this time called Franks, from the prominence, I suppose, of the French in the Crusades. They speak of great numbers of Christians in Calicut, apparently Buddhists. But a Jewish pilot taken by them told them that there were no Christians in Calicut, but that their centre was Cochin. They were called St. Thomas Christians, from a tradition of St. Thomas in India. They were Nestorians who had fled from persecution. They refused images, allowed their priests to marry, and denied transubstantiation.

From Melinda the expedition sailed on, catching anchovies, seals, and penguins, and salting them for food for the voyage, and stopping at various places, until on March 20 they doubled the Cape, "nearly dead from the cold winds." They reached Lisbon at the end of August, with the loss of half the ships and more than half the crews, but with a cargo which repaid the expenses of the voyage many times.

This voyage of some 26,000 miles took 732 days, of which the outward voyage occupied 316, the homeward voyage 314, and 102 days were spent in and about Calicut. By the side of this stupendous opening of the East to the merchants of Europe the little voyage of the Genoese Columbus to the West seems a trifle. The Portuguese acquired in these first voyages such a correct knowledge of winds and currents in the South Atlantic that the tracks laid down by them vary little from the course recommended by modern sailing guides. When Columbus makes his venture he is armed and provided with the experience

gained by the expeditions of the Portuguese since 1415. The boldness of these seamen was remarkable in that, like our Scandinavian ancestors, they ventured out, after passing the Cape Verde Islands, into the open sea of the Southern Atlantic. In addition to the great length of their voyages they had to fight the Agulhas and Mozambique currents when they had passed the Cape. Their pilots were not only superior to Columbus in seamanship, but in charting their discoveries, a fact which may be due to association with the Arab seamen. How highly the Portuguese were rated as seamen and pilots is shown by the employment of Magellan, a Portuguese, by Spain to discover the passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific round the coast of America. Magellan had on every ship a Portuguese pilot, not trusting the Spanish navigator.

In March 1500 King Manoel followed up the great voyage of Vasco da Gama by sending out a fleet of thirteen ships for the purpose of trade with the king of Calicut under a noble named Pedro Cabral. Before we follow his expedition we must turn to others prior in point of time which had followed on Prince Henry's explorations.

Section II. Columbus, Cabot, and Cabral—The Portuguese Empire

The discoveries of Prince Henry and his Portuguese successors attracted widespread attention in Europe, bringing to his service many experienced seamen of other countries, notably those of Italy, who, so far as the Mediterranean was concerned, were in the first rank of seamanship. Many such men served in the Portuguese explorations. Between 1470 and 1484 a Genoese seaman, one Christopher Columbus, was living in Portugal in close touch with Prince Henry's navigators, making occasional voyages to the coast of Guinea in their ships. He married, as I have already mentioned, the daughter of Bartolomeo Perestrello, the Portuguese governor of the island of Porto Santo, from whose widow Columbus received his papers

and instruments. Also for some time before his own expedition he lived in Madeira.

Columbus conceived the idea of reaching Asia by sailing directly to the West, avoiding the long and stormy voyage round the Cape. In consequence of the explorations of Prince Henry's captains, which had dispelled so many imaginary evils, his encouragement of naval science, astronomy, and shipbuilding, and the improvements in ships and instruments which had followed, voyages in the Atlantic were a comparatively easy matter compared with the first ventures beyond Cape Nun.

Martin Behaim had so improved the astrolabe as to recommend it to the confidence of the seamen; the use of the compass had become more general; and the sailors had learnt to sail fairly close to the wind. Without any undue depreciation of Columbus's great exploit, it is just, I think, to say that he was doing a small thing as compared with the great explorations of the Venetian Cadamosto and many Portuguese discoverers before him. Great as his exploit was, it was the sum of the inheritance of their experiences.

Columbus offered his plans to King John II of Portugal, who called a council to consider his offer. The council refused it. Then the king tried to take advantage of him by sending out an expedition on his own account, which was driven back by winds.

No one at this time suspected the existence of any continent to the west between Africa and Asia. Columbus died in the belief that he had discovered the extreme edge of the Asiatic continent. It was not likely that the Portuguese, already convinced, both by voyaging and by native exploration, of the sound certainty of their road round Africa to the East, of which the dominion had been confirmed to them by the Pope, should have been willing to exhaust their very limited revenues by a double venture, seeking a new way across an unknown and stormy sea by way of the Atlantic to the west, which might compete with their monopoly. Columbus sent his brother to sound King Henry of England, but without success. In 1484,

getting no support in Portugal, he left for Spain, where the council, mostly of ecclesiastics, not only rejected his plan, but accused him of heresy. However, a second council encouraged and agreed with him, and he remained waiting in Spain until 1492, when he made his great voyage to the west and discovered the Bahamas, Cuba, and other islands. He made several voyages resulting in further discoveries, but met with little but ingratitude and injustice at the hands of Ferdinand and Isabella, who reigned in Spain.

Though European ships had never sailed on Eastern seas, vague ideas of further Asia and of the wealth of the Orient had penetrated the European mind; from time to time travellers, lay and religious, had sought the Eastern countries and spent time in Oriental Courts. The Crusades had taught the Europeans of an Eastern civilisation; the Mohammedan and the Mongol invasions had acquainted them with vast populations of Asiatics. Hence we are inclined to think less of the very much greater world explorations of the Portuguese round the Cape than of the lesser voyages of Columbus, who seeking Asia stumbled on a new continent. Yet great as our interest may be in the Americas, Britain sits always with her face to the East, the scene of her chief trade and of her greatest achievements as a ruling race. To both she came by following in the footsteps of the Portuguese navigators round the stormy Cape.

In 1496, just before Covilham and Diaz were starting on their ventures of discovery, John Cabot, a Genoese, living in Bristol, sailed in a small ship under letters patent from King Henry VII to seek for Asia by the north-west and found the coast of Newfoundland, and possibly some part of the American mainland. In 1501, and again in 1503, Amerigo Vespucci, the Portuguese seaman, after whom the continent of America is called, visited the Rio de la Plata and explored Paraguay. Nothing at present came of either of these expeditions.

To return to the voyage of Cabral in 1500: whether his fleet was driven by winds or currents, or whether he

acted by accident or from design, he sailed to the west across the southern Atlantic, and landing in South America took possession of Brazil for Portugal, a discovery of which he at once informed King Manoel. The map will show that a line drawn from Cape St. Vincent to the Cape Verde Islands would, if prolonged, strike the coast of Brazil. The voyage would be helped by the trade winds and by the equatorial current of the South Atlantic.[4]

But Cabral, after leaving Brazil, met with misfortune. He fell in off Tristan d'Acunha with one of those tremendous hurricanes which occur in those latitudes. Four ships, in one of which was Bartholomeo Diaz, who had first rounded the Cape, went down in the storm. Cabral continued his course, passed the Cape, touched at Melinda, and arriving at Calicut set up trade and obtained permission to establish a factory. A sequence of events followed which was frequently to occur in the course of Eastern trade with Europeans for some time to come. The Mohammedan Moplahs attacked the factory and massacred more than fifty of the garrison.

Cabral retaliated by the only means at his disposal, the destruction of the Arab merchant ships. Then he went to Cochin, where he loaded his ships with a valuable cargo, signed a treaty with the local rajah against Calicut, and set up a factory to collect cargo for the next voyage. He also established friendly relations with the rajahs of Cananor and Quilon. Then he returned to Portugal with most valuable cargoes,[5] only losing seven of his thirteen vessels in the venture.

The European expeditions to the East follow as a rule the same phases as the Scandinavian invasions of Western Europe; first the deprecating trader lands with caution and does business on the beach or in the market-place with the people of the country; then he obtains leave to put up a fortified storehouse in which, as the result of continuous trading with the people, his goods bought can be collected for coming ships, a privilege willingly granted by the rajah, to whom the step makes easier the taxation on the transactions and the value of the goods sold; the armoured

stranger with his superior weapons becomes a valuable ally in local quarrels; the last step is conquest and the definite assumption of sovereignty by the stronger and more aggressive over the weaker. Only when the Dutch and British come does the character of the European penetration change. The Portuguese, though on account of small numbers and immense distance they went through all the steps, were an exception so far as they assumed from the first for themselves an Eastern imperial sovereignty, which could make treaties with subordinate local chiefs.

There was a vast space between the splendour of the imperial pretensions, backed by the papal grant and acquiesced in by the European peoples, and the isolated seaports and settlements which formed the resultant empire. But the fact remains that this tiny nation, governed by a great breed of kings, opened up and dominated and took possession for Christianity and European civility of all the East. They were, in the first instance, the great crusading nation who revenged magnificently on the Mohammedans in the East the failure of the Crusades in the Levant—an aspect of imperial history for the most part ignored by English historians, who are either silent about the great Portuguese discoveries, or depreciate them by representing them as managed by Spaniards and Italians.

From this time a steady policy of expansion was followed, trade with the people of the East going hand in hand with attacks on the Mohammedan Arab traders. Before Cabral had returned King Manoel had sent out another expedition of four ships. These discovered Ascension Island on the way out, and St. Helena on their return. Notified by good fortune of the trouble at Calicut, they loaded without difficulty rich freights at Cochin and Cananor, and made a successful return, having built forts as trade depots at Sofala on the East African and Quilon on the Malabar coast.

It would take too long to mention even shortly the great deeds of exploration and settlement done by the Portuguese in these early days in the East alone. A notice of a few of the chief of them must suffice.

In 1503 the two Albuquerques went out just in time to save the rajah of Cochin from the revenge of the ruler of Calicut. They won a great victory in a pitched battle over a great army and established their reputation as soldiers. After this, making further discoveries and settlements, the Portuguese began to entertain the idea of the conquest of India. In 1505 King Manoel sent out a great expedition under Dom Francisco de Almeida, as first viceroy of the Indies. Having had great forces put at his disposal for the purpose, he assumed the aggressive everywhere, occupied and fortified Quilon and Mombasa on the East African coast, destroyed the ships and trade of the Moslems on the Malabar coast, and totally defeated a great fleet of the Zamorin of Calicut. Among many other explorations, he discovered Ceylon and the east coast of Madagascar. In other expeditions at this time Tristan d'Acunha discovered the islands bearing his name. Ruy Pereira Continho explored Madagascar and the island afterwards called by the Dutch Mauritius after Prince Maurice of Nassau, and the Portuguese took possession of Socotra, destroying the Arab fortress, discovered the Maldives, explored the Persian Gulf, stormed Ormuz, built forts at Ormuz and Mozambique, and made the king of Ormuz tributary to Portugal. In 1509 Diogo Lopes de Sequeira reached Malacca, which was the central warehouse for the goods of all the East, and established a factory there, and explored Sumatra. Albuquerque failed, however, to occupy Aden and so close the Arab entrance to the East by the Red Sea. In 1510 Alfonso d'Albuquerque conquered Goa and fortified it; in 1511 he conquered Malacca, sent expeditions to Siam, Burmah, and the East India Islands, and discovered Amboyna. In 1512 Francisco Serranho discovered the Moluccas; in 1513 Pedro de Mascarenhas went to the Ile de Bourbon; in 1516 Duarte Coelho explored the coast of Cochin China and Siam; in 1517 Fernam Peres de Andrade sailed to China and made treaties for trade with the governor of Canton; but his agent at Nankin was imprisoned, his commission to the emperor not being worded according to Chinese etiquette.

A second Portuguese fleet came, outrages were committed in Canton, with the result that Peres de Andrade, who had been living at Pekin as ambassador, was arrested and executed. But from this time on the Portuguese kept up a tentative trade with the Chinese at Canton until in 1560 they persuaded the local officials to let them have a factory at Macao on the Canton River at a nominal yearly rent, and they soon monopolised the trade of the river.

The hundred years from 1417 had apparently given to Portugal a really great empire in the East. It was not permanent, because the Portuguese in the East scattered their settlements too widely and occupied too much ground for the powers of so small a nation. They attempted the impossible policy of combining great strength at sea, by which they could control trade, with the taking of cities and establishing isolated garrisons on land, not seeing that sea-power is all.[6] This policy ended in the starvation of the fleet and the loss of their empire. Another obstacle to permanence was that Portuguese women were not at first allowed to go out, so the policy of marrying the soldiers to Indian women grew up.

Still, for the present, besides continuous further discovery, the deeds of the Portuguese were such as to deserve the gratitude of Christian Europe for all time. Their Crusade at any rate was for Europeans a permanently successful one. The alien Mohammedan traders, driven from the Malabar coast and harassed all down the east coast of Africa, received now the naval support of the Mameluke sultan of Egypt. He in his struggle with Portugal had the sympathetic assistance of the Venetians, whose trade up the Red Sea had been badly injured by the defeat of their Moslem allies in Malabar. The Pope also through fear disapproved. A fight at sea for the control of the Indian Ocean began between the Portuguese alone and the Moslems in Egypt and India, in which the Portuguese were victorious. For a Power holding her trade and her trade posts by force from so great a distance the command of the sea was essential, and it had not been fully assured even by Almeida's brilliant victory over the fleets

of the Zamorin of Calicut. The Mohammedan traders of the East could not see unmoved the destruction of their Indian and Persian trade, nor were the Moslems in Europe less likely to look on idly, so first the Egyptian and then the Turk came to the help of the Moplahs of Calicut and Ormuz.

In 1508 the Egyptian sultan dispatched a great fleet from Egypt to combine with the Indian Moslems against the Christians. They made a junction with a Moslem fleet on the north-west coast of India and defeated a few ships sent under the son of Almeida to prevent their union with the fleets of the Malabar Moslems. But Almeida totally defeated the combined fleets off Diu in 1509, winning such an overwhelming victory as secured for a long time the trade of the East to the European seamen. Going home to Portugal at the end of his term of office, the great viceroy was killed near the Cape by some natives whose sheep had been stolen by his crews. He was succeeded by Alfonso d'Albuquerque, who agreed with the king in desiring not only sea-power, but territorial possession on land.

For a time the Portuguese in the East were supreme on both elements, victorious both over the Moslems of India and Persia and over the Turkish fleets sent from the Levant to help them. In 1545 another great viceroy, John de Castro, gained a tremendous victory at sea over the combined fleets of the Turks and the sultan of Gujerat at Diu; in 1570 the Viceroy Don Luis de Athaide, after a siege of ten months, accompanied by pestilence, endured at the hands of the Mohammedan king of Bijapur, who with others had overwhelmed the Hindu kingdoms of the south, utterly routed his enormous army of 100,000 men in a pitched battle under the walls of Goa with a very small force of Portuguese and natives, and again for a time secured the supremacy of the European.

Controlling from Goa the whole west coast of India, and holding back the Turk and Arab from the Persian Gulf by the forts at Ormuz and from the Red Sea, she amply revenged in the East the failure of the Western Crusades. Pioneers as they were in ocean ship-building, the fleets of

the Portuguese swept the Indian seas of all rivals, though in the end they built ships of such a size that they became unseaworthy, causing many losses. As mercenaries in the wars between native rulers, the little bands of Portuguese soldiers and the armies of natives trained by them which they commanded made and unmade chiefs and princes.

CHAPTER XI

THE DECAY OF THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE

Section I. The Causes of Her Ruin

One must not lay too great a stress on the imperial side. Throughout the heroic age—in fact, to the very end of Portuguese rule—everything connected with war, settlement, and enterprise in the East rested on the king. The officials with the high-sounding titles were of his appointment; the cost of the armies of occupation and of the protecting fleets, the repairs and victualling of the forts, fell on him. His were the losses and the profits of trade. The forts, the trading posts of the East, were his in absolute sovereignty. But whatever the original objectives, trade, when the Portuguese reached the East, had become the first interest, and to establish a staple and Portuguese fortress factory at each point where products could be handled, a main object. Prince Henry's Crusade had led to trade and to a monopoly by Portugal for a hundred years of the wealth of the East.

Her triumph was her ruin. It was from many causes a transient one. The rise of the Mogul Empire about 1550, the long and dangerous voyages to be made, her very small population, and insufficient means for the immense efforts which had to be made are in themselves sufficient to account for the decay of the Portuguese Empire in the East.

When the Turks of Constantinople had conquered the Mamelukes in Egypt, and let loose their combined navies in the Indian seas, the struggle between the tiny Christian nation reaching the East round the Cape and the mighty Moslem Empire became a desperate one. Though her warfare in the East saved a disunited Europe from the

frontal attack of the Turk in Europe, she received no help. In the end she had not sufficient power to hold her own against the Great Mogul, the native kings and princes, the Dutch, and the English.

Other causes accompanying every career of military conquest and territorial aggression worked for disaster. The steady import of African slaves into Portugal for agricultural work destroyed the free native population. Portugal followed the example of ancient Rome. The Portuguese freemen either thronged the towns as applicants for office, or went as soldiers or as traders to the East. The enervating climate of the tropics and marriage to native women produced a race of languid half-breeds unwilling to labour and the victims of every Oriental vice. They became worthless as fighters, and a danger to the community when means were insufficient to pay them.

One of the evils of monopoly, whether it is on land or at sea, whether of the means of life or of trade, lies in the inevitable deterioration of the monopolists. Laziness, corruption, cruelty, godlessness, looseness of morals, indifference to freedom, spring up like weeds in rich land well cultivated. It is no wonder that Portugal, secure in the East, and Spain in the West, under the rule of absolute kings became feebler in every aspect of life as the result of their monopolies.

The drying up of the great streams of wealth which had flowed into Portugal resulted from the conditions under which the enterprise had been undertaken. Private companies and individual traders were not able in those days to conduct such voyages with success, though both Prince Henry and King Manoel had been willing that the people should share in the ventures. The trade with India was carried on by and on behalf of the king and at his risk. On him fell all the loss, whether of voyages or armaments. But a general private trade by the officials for their own profits and by the crews of the ships developed, as in the English and Dutch East India Companies later, which was most detrimental to the profits on which the support of the imperial enterprise depended. Every

variety of fraud and corruption, abuse of power over the natives, and cheating in the handling of the cargoes led to the destruction of the king's trade. The captains made fortunes out of the voyages of which the expense fell to the Crown. For such a condition the king in vain tried to find a remedy, unable to check either fraud or competing trade by any regulations at home or in the Indian seas. Low salaries, accompanied by immense profits from private and illicit trade, begat corruption among officials who might otherwise have been capable and honest, and the notoriety of the corruption worked to keep the legitimate rewards low.

After 1580 the monopoly of the spice trade was sold by the king to a company, but it and others following it were unsuccessful. No Portuguese East India Company was born to succeed.

Section II. Christianity in the East

Another cause of the ruin which at the end of the sixteenth century may have had a slight effect was persecution for religion. The Portuguese explorers, at least up to the middle of the sixteenth century, were true missionaries and Crusaders of the best kind. As the first Christian missionaries on the African coast, they were a deserved success, showing themselves understanding of the system of life of the people. Even the seizure and purchase of negroes, which in the hands of Hawkins and others afterwards developed into the slave trade and horrors of the middle passage, were at first not unconnected with their attempt to establish the Christian in the place of the Mohammedan religion.

In Asia they had been gentle with the various Eastern creeds and had given privileges to the Malabar Nestorian Christians of St. Thomas, sympathetically helping the native Church. It is impossible to deal with the preaching of Christianity as it afterwards affected the European nations without a considerable sympathy with the Portuguese missionaries.

It was not to be expected that in Asia the Christians, confronted as they were by the Moslems, who have always offered the alternative of Islam or the sword, would succeed by wholesale conversion; no attack on a highly organised religion is marked by such results. If any are to be obtained, they are gained by the conversion of the kings and men of thinking power. Christianity spread in Europe against a highly organised paganism by such means, the conversion of the kings, who, accepting Christianity, brought their people with them. They did so because the missionary, living among the people as one of them, accepting their system of life and form of government, put to one side any outside allegiance except to the higher authority of his Church.

Even for such success as this, the missionary must be an aristocrat, a man who has much to give up, a man of the stamp of Columba or Henry the Navigator, who will give himself wholly to the work, closing his eyes to all the attractions and honours which the world offers to him. Such a man was St. Francis Xavier, the Jesuit Navarrese noble, who for twenty years preached and baptized in the East as far as Japan, and such men he made of his followers. He asked for and accepted no money; he asked only for his passage on the ship, not even for shelter from the weather or food. Clad in his ragged cassock, he gave his whole life entirely to the conversion of the heathen to Christ.

Speaking of the failure of our own Protestant missionaries in India, though they had the right end in view and had faced their difficulties bravely, an Anglo-Indian writer says: "The chief obstacle which besets the missionary is that occasioned by the peculiar relationship which exists between Englishmen and natives. The Englishmen are not merely the rulers of the country, but rulers in whose inner life the people as individuals are of no account—that is to say, the English in India form no attachments, no friendships with the people of the country. At no time has there been between the races any real sympathy, any sign of intercommunion, of blending the two nations into one."

"But," says Sir J. S. Cotton, commenting on this, "the admirable efforts of the Jesuit missionaries in China and in Southern India have shown the possibility of surmounting obstacles at first sight fairly insuperable. Even in their failure they accomplished a great work, and have set an example of procedure that succeeding missionaries must follow. It is to the labours of St. Francis Xavier during the sixteenth century that Indian Christianity is chiefly indebted for its distinctive characteristics." St. Francis preached to the lower castes in a country governed by caste, which increased the repugnance of the high caste Brahmin to the new creed, a dislike augmented by the fact that it was the creed of his alien ruler.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century a Jesuit, Robert de Nobili, made an effort to meet this difficulty, an effort to convert the higher castes by becoming a Brahmin to the Brahmins. He and his colleagues assumed Hindoo names, "renounced all riches, dignities, honours, friends, and kindred; they desired to have nothing of this world; they scarcely took the necessaries of life; their success was due to their wonderful power of sympathy and their rare facility of adaptation to unaccustomed modes of thought and action. They displayed on the one hand that just conciliation which is the keynote of the principles they had to offer in dealing with other modes of thought; and on the other that life of example of which the effect is beyond all precept, and without which all precept is in vain."

It is the story over again of the Roman Augustine, strong in his racial superiority over the people to whom he was sent, not caring to learn their language or travel among them, and of the English and Irish saints who carried the Christian faith over remote and savage lands in Europe at the expense and hazard of their lives.

But side by side with the apostolic work of St. Francis and his successors came the attempt of the Portuguese at Goa to force, after the fashion of the Moslem, on the peoples of the East and the native Christians the doctrines of Western Christianity by the sword. Such was the practice

of all Catholic Europe and of all Moslem Asia at that time. The universal Church represented the spiritual views of the society, reacting on political conditions, allowing no dissent in opinion, whether religious or political, for fear of its effect on the society, without inquiring whether the language contains truth or whether it has had any ill effect on others. It is the practice of cruelty through fear. And it must always be remembered in extenuation of the Portuguese persecution for religion in India that a cardinal principle of the Moslem faith, to which they alone of all the European nations who invaded the East opposed an organised religion, was the conversion of the unbelievers at the point of the sword, as it is to-day among the Moplahs of South India and the Turks who, with the assistance of the French, have recently overcome the Greeks in Asia Minor. Those who followed them, the English and Dutch, although they persecuted savagely the Christians who differed with them in religion in Europe with equal or even greater virulence, made generally no attempt to force their brand of faith on the peoples of the East. They allied themselves with the Moslems against the Catholics. They would have found it difficult to explain to the natives why they were heretics from the Catholic faith of Europe, or still less why, claiming the right of private judgment, they persecuted ancient religions.

But it was the ambition of the Portuguese King Manoel the Fortunate which was the agency of change in the character of the Portuguese treatment of differing Christians and people of other religions in Asia, helping the eventual downfall of the Empire. Manoel had the ambition to unite the thrones of Spain and Portugal. He married first Isabella, the eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic rulers of Spain. She dying, he married her sister Maria, the third daughter, the second daughter, Joanna, marrying Philip, the son of Maximilian of Austria, to become the mother of the Emperor Charles V, the father of the detestable bigot Philip II of Spain. She became insane. On the expulsion of the Jews and Moors from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella, they had been kindly received in

Portugal, and had contributed greatly to build up the wealth of the country. To assist his aim of succeeding to the throne of Spain, Manoel drove out the Jews and unbaptized Moors. His son, John III, in 1536 introduced the Inquisition into Portugal, and the *auto da fé* and the Jesuits in 1540. In 1560 the Inquisition, with which humanity was not consistent, was established with all its horrors at Goa, after which an appalling series of burnings of native Christians and others shamed the Portuguese and destroyed the cause of Christianity in the East.

Sometimes it really seems as if the heavy-footed justice for regal or national crimes overtook the criminal. In spite of three marriages and the birth of seven sons, Manoel's direct male descendants failed. In 1580 his nephew Philip II, king of Spain, with all its vast possessions and the Indies of the West, thrusting aside by superior force a candidate with an equally good title to the succession,[1] joined Portugal to his dominions. Involved in his vast schemes of aggrandisement, degraded and her trade destroyed by his campaigns of theological repression against Holland and England, Portugal lost her Eastern and the greater part of her African possessions. When in 1640 she emerged from the sixty years' captivity, she had been bankrupted by taxation, her navy had been destroyed, and the intellectual and moral strength of the people submerged under an ecclesiastical and political tyranny.

CHAPTER XII

THE DISSOLUTION OF EUROPEAN UNITY

Section I. Papal Arbitration

Before following further the Europeans in the East, we must go back to the discoveries of Columbus in the West for Spain. The Pope in the Middle Ages as the head of the Western civilisation acted frequently as arbiter in international affairs. He occupied a position analogous to a President of the Supreme Council of the present League of Nations, except that he represented all the Christian West, and not merely a group of victors bent on dividing the spoil of the weaker, and that his moral position was infinitely superior to that of the managers of the League; or may we consider him as the Chairman of a mediaeval Trade Union Congress? With the consent of Christendom he claimed authority over the lands of the heathen. His decisions on such subjects were accepted by all Western Christendom as a matter not of religion, but of an international law by which a settlement was effected of matters which might otherwise develop into a bloody contest between princes. So when the Portuguese kings first began their great exploration, Pope Nicholas V by a Bull in 1454 conferred on them all Guinea as far as Senegal. When the discoveries of Columbus gave, as the world supposed, a new road to Asia by the West, the Pope, while confirming to Portugal her discoveries in the East, gave Spain a monopoly of Western lands.

As there was then no such thing as freedom of trade, either as between nations or for the individuals of any nation, except by licence from the ruler, such a partition of new and unknown lands was accepted by all Europe as

reasonable. When in later days the Northern Powers threw off their allegiance to Rome as their spiritual head, they only very slowly and partially refused obedience to "a political settlement which had become part of the public law of Europe." Their action was in no sense for freedom of trade or a revolt against monopoly: each nation that seized the lands or markets of Spain or Portugal established as far as its strength went its own monopoly.

The settlement by the Pope was this: In pursuance of a Bull of Alexander VI in 1493 and by an agreement made under the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, sanctioned by a Bull of Julius II in 1506 and Leo X in 1514, an imaginary line was drawn 37 degrees *west and south* of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. All lands discovered or to be discovered west and south of this line were to belong to Spain, all east and south of it to Portugal. The line was necessarily very vague, as there was no means at that time for accurately determining longitude, nor was geography a strong branch of mediaeval knowledge. Such a line might roughly be said to run just to the east of the discoveries of Columbus, giving to Portugal Brazil and some of the West India Islands, and the rest of the mainland to Spain.

While Portugal was building up her great Empire in the East Indies, Spaniards were exploring and conquering the continent of South America, west of Brazil, and were hungrily looking for a way to the Spice Islands of the East. The European Western world was beginning to be awake to the fact that the earth was round. In 1513 Vasco Nunez de Balbao, governor of Darien, discovered the Pacific, and promptly took possession of it for Spain. But the Spaniards still knew no way round. It was found for them by a Portuguese, one Magalhaens, or, as we call him, Magellan. After a long service with the king of Portugal, during which he had been through the East, and had served at the discovery of Malacca, he fell out with his employers on some plea of unfair treatment and took service with the Emperor Charles V. Spain claimed the Moluccas as within the sphere confirmed to them. Magellan undertook to take a fleet to these islands round the south of the American con-

tinent. It was a most arduous and difficult undertaking. In September 1519 he set sail with five ships, each having a Portuguese pilot on board, and in December reached Rio de Janeiro. In March 1520 they entered Port St. Julien, where they stayed five months. But the Spanish captains revolted against the Portuguese commander with his Portuguese pilots. The very serious revolt was put down with desperate severity. After meeting with the tall Patagonians, whom they treated treacherously according to a common habit of the European with other races, they went south and sailed in October through the Straits of Magellan to the Pacific Ocean. After suffering terrible hardships and famine, they reached the islands called from the pilfering character of the inhabitants the Ladrones. By April they had reached the Philippines. In Zebu they baptized the friendly chiefs and taught Christianity. But after their peaceable beginning they insisted on obedience to the king of Spain, burning the villages and murdering the men who refused. On an expedition to another island to force such obedience on a chief they were taken at a disadvantage, defeated, and Magellan was killed. The king of Zebu, the convert to Christianity, now invited the Spaniards to a feast and made a massacre. The survivors went to Borneo, where again they made a peaceful beginning with both natives and Mohammedan traders. But as some of their men sent on shore did not return, they attacked and captured the junks in the harbour, taking in them one hundred men as prisoners, and sailed to Tidore in November 1521. As one of their two remaining ships was leaky, it was repaired to sail for Panama. The other, the *Vittoria*, went home by the Cape, stopping at Timor and at the Cape Verde Islands, where they narrowly escaped capture by the Portuguese. After circumnavigating the world the *Vittoria* arrived home on September 6, 1522.

Various events contributed at the end of the sixteenth century to bring to a head the causes which for a century and more had been at work for the break-up of the European unity, represented by general acquiescence in the Pope as arbiter, causes which had operated ever since

Sigismund, giving a safe-conduct to John Hus, broke his pledged word. Two events brought matters to a climax.

The first was the union of Spain and Portugal with their vast empires West and East under Philip II in 1580. The second was the final revolt after twenty years of war of the Dutch against Philip and the Declaration of Independence of the United Provinces in 1581.

It is worth while to take a short look at the condition of the world at this date and estimate the forces which affected European trade and expansion.

So long as Portugal held the golden East in fee, and Spain exploited the mines of Mexico and Peru, under an international award far stronger than any mandate of our League of Nations, neither Catholic nor Protestant felt inclined to challenge it in the face of superior force. There is no more striking example of the power of the mediaeval Papacy as a factor in lay politics than the long acquiescence of the Atlantic nations in the monopoly of the new worlds by the discoverer nations Portugal and Spain. It is late in the sixteenth century before it is seriously questioned; before the slave-trading pirate Sir John Hawkins began to peddle negroes among the Spaniards of the West Indies. The first English voyager to the East Indies, Captain John Lancaster, who had learnt his navigation to the East in the Portuguese service, made his attempt in 1591; Drake, with the assistance of a Portuguese pilot from the Azores, imitates Magellan in 1579–80, and Cavendish follows him in 1586. Elizabeth licenses an expedition to Guinea in 1588.

Section II. The European Rivals of Spain and Portugal

For at least a hundred and seventy years after Prince Henry's captains had discovered and settled Madeira, Portugal and, after Columbus's voyage in 1492, Spain cultivated in their several spheres the heathen lands assigned to them by the Papal award. They worked to the fullest extent their monopolies of trade, exercising as far as they

dared or as it seemed best for trade imperial powers over the peoples into whose lands they entered, treating them often, in the West at least, in the true Biblical fashion as themselves chosen of the Lord to rule over them. But at least they understood the principles of the social system which obtained outside Europe. The Portuguese recognised the village communities, and regulated taxation by them, trading through the chiefs. John de Castro in 1545 preceded Cornwallis in an attempt to protect the ryot from the official.

In the course of their cultivation both Portuguese and Spaniard, in spite of the iniquities of the Inquisition and of the savagery of murder and mutilation which belonged to the age, brought into their spheres of operation many material benefits. The Portuguese brought science to bear on the art of navigation, built great ships suitable for long and stormy voyages, made gardens of uncultivated tropics, enlarged the scope and character of Oriental trade,[1] forwarded as the first missionaries, until checked by the hideous Inquisition, the cause of Christ in the East and in Africa, and introduced us directly to the great empires and peoples of the East; the Spaniards, a nation of herdsmen, built up in South America a pastoral empire, and while their greed destroyed the great flocks of Peruvian llamas they covered the land with flocks and herds of European breed.

The exercise of their monopolies was, of course, not without fierce dispute and stormy attempts to trespass on each other's claims. However careful the kings might be to save appearances, taking the profits of illegality with one hand while punishing the offender who provided them with the other, the merchant seaman was not so restrained and simple-minded. But at least they had for the most part their quarrels to themselves. They were not as yet seriously disturbed by the seamen of other nations.

They traded with other seamen. Undoubtedly, though the kings might claim a monopoly of trade, the settlers, factors, merchants and officials, Portuguese or Spanish, were not averse to trading with other peoples, who might

not come within the strict letter of the king's monopoly, where such trading brought them profits. So when in 1586 Thomas Cavendish goes on an expedition round the world, warring with the Spaniards who then held Portugal as he goes, sinking and burning their ships, he meets with friendly Portuguese in Java who were living there as factors to traffic with the islanders. They told us, relates Hakluyt, that they were no less glad to see us than we to see them, and they told him of all the good things of Java.

There would appear to have been a good many private trading voyages by English and French to Guinea and Brazil long before 1580. As instances Hakluyt recounts voyages of Captain John Lock in 1554–5, and of William Towerson in 1555 to Guinea, in 1567 of George Fenner to the same place, where he finds Frenchmen on their way to trade at the Cape. A notable example is that of William Hawkins of Plymouth, the father of Sir John, the slave peddler. In 1530 he made the first of three voyages in a ship of his own of 250 tons. He touched at the river Sestos on the coast of Guinea, trafficked with the negroes for elephants' teeth, etc., and then went over for trading to Brazil, whence he brought home a chief, leaving one of his men as a hostage in his place. Other English merchants followed his lead in this trade.

The Spanish Indies in the West and the Portuguese Indies in the East stood on a different footing. The West produced gold and silver for the Spanish kings; trade, settlement, and the welfare of the Spanish settlers were secondary matters; the monopoly of the king to be guarded was a monopoly of bullion, of treasure. The route to the treasure lands from Spain was a comparatively short and simple one. This, while it gave encouragement to the seaman of Northern Europe to hang about in the West Indies slave peddling, on the chance of attacking the king's ships laden with bullion, made easy the journey of the treasure ships under sufficient convoy from a given point.

The East produced for the kings of Portugal vast opportunities for a monopoly in trade in commercial pro-

ducts. "I cannot," says Hakluyt of the taking of the great carrack the *Madre de Dios* in 1592 by a number of English ships, "but enter into consideration and acknowledgment of God's great favour towards our nation, who by putting this purchase in our hands hath manifestly discovered those secret trades and Indian riches which hitherto lay strangely hidden and cunningly concealed from us. Whereby it would seem that the will of God is to have us trade with them in those East Indian treasures and by the erection of a lawful traffic to improve our means to advance His religion and His holy service." The cargo on which this precious cant was written was, besides jewels, pepper, cloves, mace, nutmegs, cinnamon, green ginger, benjamin, frankincense, galingale, mirobolans, aloes, zocotrina, camphor, damasks, taffetas, sarcenets, alto bassos, silk of various kinds, curled cypress, different kinds of calicoes, canopies and quilts of sarcenet and calico, Turkey carpets, pearl, musk, civet and ambergris, elephants' tusks, Chinese porcelain, cocoa-nuts, hides, ebony and ebony bedsteads, cloth of tree bark. There were also between six and seven hundred passengers. In spite of the "will of God" it was so much easier to advance His holy service by plundering the homeward-bound carrack in European waters than to attempt the voyage to the East for legitimate trade that it is several years before Lancaster's first voyage is followed up by the English. The great length of the voyage, the stormy Cape, the danger from fever and savages and want of water on the way deterred for very long the illicit trader from venturing to the East. When they did so, both Dutch and English were instructed to avoid conflict with the armed ships of the Portuguese.

Writing to a Dutch captain, who had sent to Malacca some women and unarmed people out of a carrack seized by the Dutch, Fernando d'Albuquerque in 1603 makes the following dignified protest against this method of seizure. "Fortune would have it that you met with and took a rich carrack full of merchants, women and children, who were all incapable of making any defence. I am infinitely sorry that it was not my ship that fell in your way: had that

happened I had made you know the difference between soldiers and merchants in the way of defending ships."

Until the governments of England and Holland openly supported their traders, the perils of the poaching seamen, once the Cape was passed, in the hostile East were enormous. Yet the difficulty of the defence was hardly less. The chief cause of difficulty, the great length of stormy seas traversed and the necessity of carrying provisions and water for the roomy cargo vessels required for a long period, to say nothing of the constant drain on the manhood and money of the small population of Portugal and its consequent weakness, made any effective policing of the route impossible. The large passenger traffic, the bulk of the goods carried led to the building of unwieldly carracks, such as those with which the Veneti fought Cæsar in the Sea of Morbihan, or later sailed the Mediterranean as dromonds, ships which were not only sometimes unseaworthy but which, hard to manœuvre in battle [2] and scantily manned with fighters, fell an easy prey to the pirates who waited for them near home. (Appendix H.)

Section III. The Wars of Religion

But there were some deep distinctions between our Empire and theirs. One on which I have already dwelt is that our Empire has for the most and best part been built up by private enterprise or by Chartered Companies, as opposed to trade enterprise and colonisation by and at the expense of the Crown. Another, which had far greater effect at the time, is concerned with religion.

Previous to 1580 the authority of the Papacy as the arbitrator of European affairs had been steadily growing less. As always happens, the want of moral power in the law-giver, which is shown by the refusal of the people to obey the law national or international, was supplied by terrorism, by the supersession of law by various forms of brute force. So the Catholic rulers of Europe, urged by the followers of Dominic and other ecclesiastics, tried in their several ways to put down heresy by burning and hanging

and long imprisonment and every form of torture and humiliation. It had the effect, which it always has had ever since Æsop told the tale of the sun and the wind, of strengthening those attacked and encouraging the weak, and of making many heretics who before were not such. But although Luther fulminated in Germany, although Calvin burnt other Protestants in Switzerland, although the Dutch and Walloons fought Philip's forces, and themselves suffering for their faith in the Low Countries, refused to allow the exercise of the Catholic religion in Holland, the movement took no imperial form until it spread to England. The revolt of the Low Countries and the persecution under Alva were, as they used to say of the Irish war in 1920, "domestic" matter. It threatened to become a world struggle when the Defender of the Faith against the heretic Luther threw off his allegiance to Rome and divorced the daughter of the most Catholic of European kings. It became so in fact when his daughter Elizabeth was excommunicated, and when a crusade was declared by the Pope against the Dutch in 1578.

When his daughter Mary was married to Philip II, it looked for a few years as if the immense power of Spain and England combined would crush, or at least postpone, as in the days of Wiclif, the revolutionary movement of thought. Is any revolutionary thought ever crushed? Does it not rather under persecution take new and perhaps more dangerous forms, and, debarred entrance or escape by the usual way, find some new door? When Mary died and Elizabeth wielded the power of England, the national jealousy of the monopolies of the Iberian peninsula had been intensified and consolidated. The day of change draws sensibly nearer. England is developing trade north and south. Elizabeth admits the Jews to her country. She flouts the monopoly of the Hansa in the Baltic and encourages the Muscovy Company to find a way to Russia by Archangel. She takes every opportunity of privately encouraging piracy and illicit trading in the West Indies. Excommunicated by the Pope, surrounded by traitors, and her life threatened by assassins, she stands forward

at the head of the Protestant peoples against the great giant of Spain, helping the Dutch and the German princes and perhaps Henri Quatre of France with money and men and ships, going to the extreme limit of duplicity and violence common to her time which could stop just short of actual war.

In the struggle that followed religion became the excuse for the most horrible barbarities, in which neither side had any advantage of the other, whether in the East or in Europe. Elizabeth tries to exterminate the Catholics in Ireland, St. Bartholomew marks the climax of the war of murder and assassination in France, the Spaniard murders William of Orange, and Maurice of Nassau murders John of Barneveldt. In the Indies torture and massacre, arson and breach of faith accompanied every attack either on the lands of the natives or on the forts of fellow Christians. If the natives or others attacked by the pirates resisted, after accepting the inevitable, they are always accused of treachery. It was an intensely brutal age, very like our own, in which the Christian religion was ceasing to have influence on political action, and the tyranny of an unchecked federal authority had taken the place of the parliamentary progress of the three preceding centuries.

In the last years of the sixteenth century direct isolated attacks were being made by the English and Dutch on the Indies both West and East. These piratical expeditions did nothing to hinder or advance trade, or until the seventeenth century seriously injure the defences of Spain.

Section IV. The Fleets in the Armada Invasion

Such raids were no more decisive of sea-power than the raids of the *Emden* in 1914 on British commerce. The direct attacks on Cadiz and the coasts of Spain and Portugal did undoubtedly greatly injure the Spanish shipping. But such raids were very few and by no means generally successful, as in the case of the failure of Drake's expedition

to Corunna in 1589. Great blows undoubtedly were dealt. First came Drake's attack on Cadiz in 1587, when he set fire to a hundred ships and took a great carrack, the *San Felipo*, at the Azores; then the dispersion and destruction of the Great Armada in 1588 by storm and battle. Yet this did not decisively affect trade or naval superiority. It was the action of Philip himself which led to the destruction of the supremacy of Spain and Portugal both East and West.

It is very interesting to contrast the character of the two navies in 1588, as they express the two systems of expansion for the trade of Spain and Portugal then, and of England and Holland then and after. The figures for the Armada year vary, but the Spaniards had from 132 to 146 ships, the English from 191 to 197. The Tudors had built some very large top-heavy ships. The *Virgin Mary*, launched in 1515, had four masts, of which three had upper masts and one—the main mast—had two upper masts. She carried 207 pieces of artillery.[3] The building of these huge ships appears to have continued, but they do not appear in the Armada days. The reports of the Venetians show us that the Crown relied on the merchant service to supplement the small nucleus of forty ships or so of varying size belonging to the Crown from which a fleet could easily be manned. The merchant service of England was making great growth, gradually elbowing out the Hansa fleet and competing with the Dutch as carriers for the Western peoples.

The foreign reports vary as the reporters were friends or enemies. In 1569 the Spaniards report that Elizabeth has 22 principal ships, but with difficulty she had only been able to equip 11.[4] In 1574 they gave her 30 ships, of which 12 or 14 were from 400 to 700 tons, very light and with much artillery, the other ships very small. But in 1585 the Venetian ambassador describes Elizabeth's fleet as the most powerful in Christendom. As a result there were present in the estimates of the Armada year for service 34 king's ships, supported by private merchantmen of small tonnage.

The Elizabethan fleet then was marked by these characteristics: the Crown possessed very few ships; the great body of the fleet was private merchantmen; the tonnage was very small in comparison with the Armada, but they were built for speed and easily handled.

The Spanish fleet, not very much more than two-thirds in number of the English, had an enormous superiority in tonnage. Their merchant ships, whether of Spain or Portugal, fitted for the long ocean voyages East and West, were very much larger than the English, several of over one thousand tons, and almost without exception they belonged to the king. The first or commanding squadron of the Spanish Armada, under the command of the duke of Medina Sidonia, consisted of twelve great Portuguese carracks, of which two were over one thousand tons. This fleet had an immense superiority over the English in the number of vessels of between six hundred and a thousand tons. They were manned by eight thousand sailors and forty-six thousand men-at-arms. A flotilla of flat-bottomed boats had been prepared in Flanders by Philip's great general Parma, to transport thirty thousand men and four thousand veteran cavalry to England to co-operate with the Armada. But the Dutch knew that the ruin of England was their own destruction. Besides providing some sailors for the English ships they blockaded the coast from the Scheldt to Gravelines with their water Gueux, and moved all beacons, buoys and lights. Parma's great army in consequence could not get out, nor owing to the shallow water could the large Spanish ships get in.

The disproportion of the ships to the disadvantage of the English in this engagement was offset by their character. Built for local traffic rather than for long voyages in unknown and stormy seas, they were lighter, easier to handle, requiring fewer men at the helm, carrying a heavier weight of metal in proportion to their tonnage than the larger ships, in every way more manageable, in character more of the nature of swift warships than traders, in contrast to the great cargo liners of their adversary.

The loss no doubt in ships and men in this venture was terrible for Spain. But the Armada was not her only fleet. A new one was soon prepared for a fresh attack, but shattered by a terrible storm in the Bay. Nor need the disaster have had any decisive effect but for the action of the Spanish Government.

CHAPTER XIII

PHILIP CLOSES THE PORTS

Section I. The Effect on Holland and Portugal

One of the many weak spots of the Portuguese Empire was that the nation was dependent for the distribution of her wealth upon other peoples, upon Holland, Venice, England, and the Hansa. Her shipping for trade, owing to her immense commitments in the East and the entire coast of Africa, barely sufficed, including no doubt those twelve ships which formed the van of the Armada, as carriers of goods and passengers from the East to Lisbon. For the rest, the policing of the sea routes, the port to port traffic round the coast of Africa and Asia from Cape Nun to Pekin and Japan, more than exhausted the capacity of her shipping, and employed every creature, half-bred Asiatic or African, convict or plain landsman, who could be used as seamen in her service.[1] The distribution of the goods in Europe, when once brought to the central market of Lisbon, was left to the European carrier, of whom the Dutch were the most prominent, for the supply of the Northern markets. This, when open war was commenced with the Northern peoples, when Philip, intent on protecting his West Indian mines, neglected the Portuguese possessions in the East, made easy the seizure and destruction of her richly laden liners on their homeward voyage, and the capture of the trading posts in the East, for whose protection neither men nor moneys were available.

Between the Low Countries and Portugal there had always been a great and friendly trade. The Dutch came to Portugal to get Indian goods, and the Portuguese had a factory in Antwerp. But the Spanish Government put the

climax on their misfortunes by closing in 1586 the ports of Portugal to the English and later on to the Dutch, and seizing fifty Dutch ships in the Tagus. Then in 1599 they made a further seizure of Dutch ships, and imprisoned and tortured the crews.

After the seizure in 1586 there had been a scarcity of corn in Italy, and the Netherland merchants, seizing, like all merchants, the nearest opportunities for trade, when shut out from Portugal carried corn to Italy from the Baltic. But by 1595 this business was failing. "If the Spaniards had not seized their ships and exposed their persons to the rigour of the Inquisition, probably they had never extended their navigation beyond the Baltic sea, the northern countries, England, France, Spain and its dependencies, the Mediterranean and the Levant." But under the whip of Philip the Dutch nation, and with them the English, "set out in order to find under another firmament and among barbarous savages the succours that were refused them by their neighbours."

In 1591 the English made their first trading voyage to the East by way of the Cape; in 1595 the Dutch followed suit. In 1596 Howard, Essex, and Raleigh destroyed the Spanish shipping in Cadiz harbour.

The closing of the ports stimulated the shipping of England and Holland, and of course developed a great smuggling trade. In a variety of indirect ways, by trading under the Spanish and other flags, by plunder at sea, by trading under licence from the enemy, the Dutch trade, in spite of the fulminations of Philip, prospered and increased in volume. In 1587, while the conditions of the Spanish Netherlands, occupied by Spanish soldiers, were most shocking, while wolves occupied the uncultivated country, while towns were deserted, while the rich burghers of Ghent, Antwerp, and Bruges were beggars struggling with famine, the Dutch trade by these indirect means was increasing enormously. Refugees from Flanders brought trade and manufacture, while the Jews who fled from the Inquisition built up Amsterdam, as they had helped to build up Brazil.

The closing of the ports did more than stimulate trade.

Its effect, threatening ruin to the trade of England, Holland, and Portugal, was to let loose on the oceans, east and west, as well as at home, a horde of armed merchant pirates or privateers, who warred upon the royal trade of Spain and Portugal, in which they had been forbidden to take part. It was not only the trade of Spain and Portugal that suffered. From both sides of the Channel, but especially from England, came the privateers to attack the enemy's fleets. But they preyed equally on the Dutch shipping which did business with the enemy under the Spanish flag, and in fact on ships of any nations. The Channel became so dangerous to Dutch shipping from the privateers of their allies the English that they went round the coast of Scotland in preference (Bor and Meteven, quoted by Davies, ii. 182).

Long before this the English privateers had terrorised ships in the Channel. "English merchants and gentlemen [2] whose estates lay contiguous to the coast or on creeks and navigable rivers, fitted out vessels as traders, under vague and questionable commissions, and sent them forth heavily armed to plunder on the high seas whatever ships, including not infrequently those of their own countrymen, they might consider worthy of their prey." Spain and France, as well as Holland, suffered so severely and so many complaints were made that at last even Elizabeth was scared, and in 1568 sent Anthony Jenkinson with a ship of two hundred tons to the east coast of Scotland to seize the pirates. But owing to the complications with Mary, Darnley, and Bothwell nothing came of it.

It was on the trade and shipping of Portugal, unprotected by Philip, that the blow fell most heavily. Her African outposts and ports were attacked at the same time by the English and Dutch from Europe, by the Turks from Turkey and Egypt, and by the African Moslems incited by the Turks, as might happen to us to-morrow. The English took Cape Verde, and the Africans and Turks attacked Mozambique, Mombasa, and Melinda. Encouraged by the Dutch and English, the natives of Asia revolted from the heavy hand of the Portuguese, and the newcomers attacked Brazil, taking, burning, and sacking many towns, while the

French Huguenots seized lands and towns there with a view to settlement.

But even at this day the Portuguese were far from being effete, so that at this time Paulo Diaz de Novaes was conquering Angola. When after 1640 they had driven the Spaniards out of Portugal they recovered many of their possessions in Brazil and elsewhere and even revived their navy. But the manhood of the tiny nation had been exhausted by the long imperial venture, and their intellectual progress stunted by the Inquisition and the Roman Church. Mazarin, on the part of France, agreed by a secret treaty of peace to abandon Portugal to Spain; but he evaded this by arranging a marriage between Charles II of England and Catherine of Braganza. The Portuguese queen, who was regent, engaged Count Schomberg to organise an army, and Charles sent a body of veterans under Murrough O'Brien, first earl of Inchiquin. The armies under Schomberg won great victories over the Spaniards, who acknowledged Portuguese independence. Catherine brought as part of her dowry the island of Bombay and Galle in Ceylon, thus beginning our Empire in the East.

Section II. The Barbarity of Religious Warfare

This outpouring of the nations over all the world should have been but the strenuous competition of European traders. But the atrocious cruelties of the Inquisition by which Philip and his successors sought to suppress the free thought of Northern Europe communicated itself to the heretics and overlaid the struggle for Eastern trade with the intensity of theological hatred.

The cruelty with which all parties to this hideous sixteenth-century struggle waged war left hardly any predominance in crime. The atrocities of Elizabeth's soldiers in Ireland, says the historian, exceeded those of Alva in the Netherlands. After the taking of Antwerp by the Spaniards in 1576, when night came, "then,[3] throwing off the mask of humanity, they spared neither crippled age nor blooming youth; neither the feeble matron, the helpless maiden, nor

the wailing infant. Houses and churches were red with human blood; neither sobs, shrieks, nor prayers could move their pity; they trampled over the gasping bodies of their victims to enter and plunder their houses." One can hardly be surprised that the hatred of the Dutch Gueux for the Spaniards amounted to a frenzied passion. It is related of one of them that having taken a Spanish soldier in a skirmish (Davies, anno 1574) he tore the heart out of his body, set his teeth for a moment firmly in it and threw it on the ground, saying, "It is bitter." The history of the French of the time, whether Catholic or Protestant, is one continuous record of murder and counter-murder. The barbarity of the Portuguese upon the pagan Indians in Ceylon does not bear repetition.[4]

It stands to reason that the greater part of the men who ventured their lives in these savage struggles were wild men of indifferent character, to whom religion, if it meant anything, was but a vague superstition, a phrase of hatred, an excuse for murder, rape, or plunder. Speaking of the Dutch adventurers to the Indies, a Dutch writer says: "The officers of the ships in those days were first-class sailors, and the petty officers respectable men; but the common sailor almost without exception belonged to a class of worthless youngsters who left their country for their country's good, and for the lasting benefit of their family reputation," and the same reputation is given to the men of the other nations. It is pathetic to read that in their war of defence the Portuguese fleets and armies were composed in good part of convicts and men of ill character who deserted when they had received their pay. Giving an account of a very disgraceful fight between Dutch and English ships in the Persian Gulf in 1654, M. Tavernier, who was present on board, says: "Never was fight worse managed on both sides; the Dutch were most of them drunk and knew not what they did; the English, I think, were little better, if not worse."[5]

Yet when properly disciplined these men showed desperate bravery. The bravery of the English is many times testified to, if that were necessary, and they them-

selves speak to the courage of the Portuguese. An example of the Spaniards is the bravery shown by their garrison which was blockaded for two years (1571–3) in Middelburg by the fearful Gueux, from whom they could expect no mercy. English writers have often attempted to depict the later Portuguese as cowards, but they would appear frequently to have acted with extreme courage. For instance, in 1586, Paulo Diaz de Narvaez won a victory in Angola with a few hundred men over an enormous army (600,000 ?) brought against him ; in 1594 the ship which sailed every year from China to Goa was nearing Goa when it was attacked by fourteen vessels. There were only fourteen Portuguese on board, but they fought for three days and nights in defence of their cargo until they were all killed, after which a Javanese blew up the ship to prevent it falling into the enemy's hands. In 1615 the Portuguese fleets, manned in great part by convicts, had first to fight the king of Achin, who had five hundred ships, with sixty thousand men, of which ships a hundred were larger than those of the Portuguese, and after a two days' battle, in which the Viceroy's ship was attacked and fired eighteen times, after driving him off, they had to fight for three days a superior fleet of Dutch ships.

As an instance of Dutch bravery, the crew of a Dutch ship, abandoned by their fellows in a fight off Portugal with Portuguese ships, blew up their ship and perished rather than surrender. It was greatly by their capacity for suffering that the Dutch gained their independence. As Terence McSwiney truly said, it is those who can endure most who win in the end.

Section III. Finance of Trade and War

But it was not courage alone that decided the issues. Such struggles are hardly ever sufficiently elemental to rest solely on muscle and the heart behind it. It was the want of money which ruined the Portuguese empire in the Indies ; it was good credit which saved the Dutch in their struggle with Spain.

It may be said without exaggeration that the mediaeval ruler was always bankrupt, always expecting fourpence to do the work of ninepence, robbing Peter to pay Paul, inventing new sources of acquisition, waging wars for territory and property which could be made to yield a return, or to be given to some person in payment of debt or wages, or be used as material for a further advance. The conscientious objector or patriot, as he is called, was engaged, after shouting the loudest for the unnecessary offensive, in devising means for shifting the burden of paying for it on to the shoulders of some one else.

As for the dirt so often cast upon Elizabeth for her parsimony and petty meanness, it only shames the men who wrote it. It was more by her rigid economy, by encouraging her subjects to expect little or nothing for their labours, by enforcing on them the devil's beatitude, than by any other means that she succeeded in saving the islands from the might of Spain. But an account of the revenue in Elizabeth's day, the extraordinary expenses to which she was compelled by the threat of Scotland, Ireland, France, and Spain, expenses which had far outstripped the means for meeting them, would not be a fair illustration of the difficulties of a mediaeval ruler.

The account of the annual revenue of England in 1421, when the expenses were by no means so great as in later days, will show the necessity for parsimony in the ruler always. (Appendix J.) Heavy borrowing from the Jews or the Lombards or Caussines, or from any one who could be induced to lend, with the hope that something would turn up before it became necessary to meet the loan, was the normal condition of the king. Philip borrows from his generals and officials when they will lend to him ; Elizabeth, allied to the Dutch, angrily demands from time to time the repayment of her loans to them.

The Dutch owed the successful termination of their revolt very greatly to the prompt care taken to meet their obligations. The credit of the United Provinces in consequence stood very high, promissory notes being accepted by their troops for pay spent for the most part in the country.

On the other hand, Philip, who had borrowed fourteen and a half millions of ducats from merchants of Spain and Genoa, obtained from the Pope a dispensation from payment, as being the expenses of a war against heretics. As a just retribution for his dishonesty, naval and military operations, which might otherwise have been successful, failed from time to time from the mutinies of the unpaid troops, even the veterans, which became almost their normal condition owing to the vast arrears of pay (in 1574 a million florins). Turned loose on the country to plunder, they injured the cause of the king by their exactions and excesses. The irregular troops, of which there were many, murdered or imprisoned their officers, and under the command of an "electo" ravaged the country, committing every atrocity.

Long before Philip declared his bankruptcy he was without money to pay for the fleets at home or in the Indies, or for the army with which he fought the Dutch and English. He only made this Declaration in 1596, when a great fleet, which had been fitted out to invade the west of England and Ireland, had been dispersed and destroyed by storms.

Besides the checks to the success of Spain and Portugal owing to military and naval defeat and exhaustion of the finances of both countries, there were serious drawbacks always attendant on the engrossment of all the profits of trade by the Crown, which in these days we call nationalisation. If Empire is ever to be permanent, it must be one in which Imperial trade brings profits to the whole country and not only to the ruler and his group of officials. The State system, especially after Portugal fell into the hands of Spain, induced apathy in the nation to bad management and losses, and exposed the government to plunder and corruption on all sides without any counteracting influence to honesty on the part of the people. As early as 1544 Albuquerque is complaining bitterly of the badness of the weapons and stores sent from Lisbon to the East. The oars were too short either for ships or boats, the pikes were of no use, made of beech and easily broken. The breastplates were rotten and patched with tin. He tells the king that, owing to the lack of weapons from Portugal,

"many captains speculated in the various useless weapons which they sold to the soldiers at very good prices." Long before the Dutch and English came, the power of the Portuguese had become too small for the task of administering her enormous possessions. They continued to inflict defeats on the natives in all parts of the East, but held their own with increasing difficulty, and the end being foreseen by the officials with increasing corruption. There may have been a certain amount of truth in a remark made by the king of Persia to a Portuguese ambassador. He asked: "How many governors of India has the king beheaded?" "None," was the reply. Whereupon the king said: "Then the dominions of the Portuguese in India will not last long."

Philip's campaigns in the Netherlands ate up all the profits of the Eastern trade, the various native kings, seeing the increasing weakness, combined against the European, the ill-behaviour of the officials and their robbery of the native told against them, and their losses by wreckage and disease were enormous. In 1614, for instance, when every man and ship were needed, on the four out of five ships which reached Goa from Lisbon, of three thousand soldiers more than half died on the voyage. Of three ships sent home in the same year only one arrived. In 1621 nine out of ten warships forced to go out by Olivarez, the Spanish Minister, as convoy were lost. In 1623 nearly the whole Portuguese fleet was lost at different places on the way out. In 1622 Don Francisco da Gama, a new Viceroy, made a close examination into Indian affairs and as his first act reported to Philip IV that everything in India was in as bad a state as possible; that the fortresses were ruined and without guns; Ormuz, which had produced the largest revenue in the East, had been lost; Cochin, the most prosperous settlement, had hardly any trade and was in ruins without means of defence; that the enemies of Portugal were in great force on the seas. At the same time the bishop of Cochin writes that the men sent out were unfit for soldiers, and that in an engagement their only thought was to run away. There grew up a large illicit trade to the detriment of the king's revenues between the Portuguese and the Dutch, and the religious

orders who had become a curse to the Empire ate up a great part of the revenues in addition to their wealth. In Goa alone they were nearly twice as many as the rest of the inhabitants and in proportion elsewhere.

The endeavour to force the Catholic religion on the peoples of the East which was persisted upon to the end told against the Portuguese. Writing to the king in 1631 the viceroy says of the clergy that they not only pay no obedience to orders, but have seized territory, and levy war against the king's forces, besides interfering in every kind of business, political and commercial. They were then so rich and the Portuguese Government so poor that the men who went out as soldiers became monks. Of fifteen hundred men so sent out in 1632 only five hundred remained in the king's service. When in 1656 Colombo, garrisoned only by five hundred Europeans, including women and children, was besieged and was compelled to surrender, Goa sent no help to it, "but plenty to Macassar and Mozambique, the reason being that the cinnamon (from Ceylon) [6] was for the king of Portugal, while the cargoes received from other places were for the private merchants, and in India private interest precedes common interests."

But enough of a very sad story. All this time the Portuguese were winning victories over overwhelming numbers of natives, and contesting hard-fought battles with the Dutch and English. It is sufficient to their credit that when Prince Henry first sent out his fleets beyond Cape Nun, the proverb ran that he who went beyond Cape Nun might come back or no. When the English and Dutch went to the East, thousands of men every year sailed successfully the seas of the world.

Section IV. The Result of the International Contest

The last half of the sixteenth century saw a complete breakdown of the Papal control of politics and with it of the unity of Western Europe. Up to this date, though

often marked by disputes and lack of obedience, Western Europe had been in all international matters governed by an Imperial theocracy from Rome. So far as possible it also exercised supervision over their relations with the Moslem and pagan world. Such an Imperial rule was enforced not by arms but by action professedly founded on social morals, not by any means of necessity religious, interdict and excommunication, by which the offending people or ruler were to be punished by isolation from the rest of the Christian world.

One effect of this form of Empire at all times is that it leans towards the mechanical reproduction of the political and social ideas of the mass, discouraging individual effort in any novel act or independent thought contrary to accepted ideas. To be intelligible and acceptable to the mass, any political or social idea must be very simple, of general application, involving no principle or detail novel or unusual or contrary to generally accepted ideas or likely to require concentration of thought.

The result is always the same. The reaction, when the physical force becomes too weak to enforce the repression, acts in two opposite directions. As against the engine of repression it is centripetal, uniting men of various opinions, of various nations, who would otherwise stand apart and opposed. England as against Spain was drawn not very willingly towards her commercial rival Holland; the Catholic Spanish Netherlands, deluged with blood under the brutal soldiers of Spain and Germany, gravitated towards the Calvinists of the United Provinces.

But the very same assertive spirit of independence, which brought about unity of revolt against the suppressions from without of theological opinion within the nations, exaggerated the divisions of race, language, and commercial rivalry as between the peoples who claimed this right of individual expression. The theological intolerance was no doubt intense at home in Europe. But in the East and all over the world the Dutch and English did not fight either among themselves or with the others over matters of

religion. It was the spirit of nationality, the direct reaction from centralised oppression, the spirit which is worrying us so much to-day, which was the very heart of the European conflicts carried on for trade all over the world. And the men who fought were concerned and fought each other not for religion but for trade.

CHAPTER XIV

THE VIKING INVASIONS OF THE EAST—THE ALTERNATIVES

Section I. Agreement for Trade in Europe

Of whatever nation they were, the men who went out from Europe at the end of the sixteenth century to invade the East and to explore the waste places of the world were the epitome of an age in which, as in our own, the authority which stood for morals and decent living had been discredited and put to one side. It is not surprising that the adventurer from Europe, unconsidered in his own country, should act with atrocious cruelty when, after suffering extraordinary hardships, he found himself, armed with a hatred of Rome and superior weapons, among strange peoples whose actions he considered treacherous because he could not understand their language. For the most part the adventurers showed supreme courage as they opened up for us the waste places of the earth from Tasman's Land to Nova Zembla, from Hudson's Bay to Japan. An impartial judgment of them is, I believe, best expressed in a passage written by a Dutch American of the early Dutch navigators, an estimate equally applicable to any of these adventurous English, French, Spanish, Danish, or Portuguese. "This is a story of magnificent failures. The men who equipped the expeditions . . . died in the poorhouse. The men who took part in these voyages sacrificed their lives as cheerfully as they lit a new pipe or opened a fresh bottle. Some of them were drowned and some of them died of thirst. A few were frozen to death, and many were killed by the heat of the scorching sun. Others were speared by cannibals and provided a feast

for the hungry tribes of the Pacific islands. . . . I want you to know about these men because they were your ancestors. If you have inherited any of their good qualities, make the best of them. It will prove to be worth while."

When the northern people began their revolt against the award which gave a monopoly of the Indies to their discoverers, several alternatives were open before them.

1. They could occupy themselves as carriers for the distribution in northern Europe of the wares brought by Spain and Portugal from the Indies. This they continued to do, until the insane policy of Philip by the closure of the ports checked this opening.

2. They could seek to modify by protest and agreement, by mutual concession, the Papal award. A good deal might have been accomplished on these lines. By treaty in 1572, for instance, the English were permitted to trade to the coast of Guinea, and the Portuguese and Spaniards to fish on the Newfoundland banks. But the resolution of Philip, with the world's wealth behind him, to crush heresy in Holland and elsewhere, and his closure of the ports to the English and Dutch destroyed all hope of any such compromise.

Section II. The Reopening of the Land Trade Routes

3. They could busy themselves by competing with Venice along the old trade land routes so far as they were open either by agreement with the Moslem nations or by attempting force. It is quite possible that the far-seeing Papal Court, in making the award, hoped for some such result, that while the Portuguese absorbed the Moslem trade, and preached Christianity to African and Asiatic by way of the Cape, and the Spaniards spread the faith in the Indies of the West, the Northern nations would once more attempt to open up Asia for commerce by the old trade routes, the road of the Crusades. As early as 1529 England, Spain, and Portugal entered into negotiations for such a truce in Europe as would enable them to combine to fight the Turk for trade.[1] Fifty years later Elizabeth by agreement

obtained permission from the Turk for English merchants to trade in the Levant. The two dates express the change in religion which had come over commercial Europe.

In 1577 Elizabeth sent a mission to the emperor of Morocco to negotiate trade, and set to work to drive out the Portuguese who acted in hostile opposition to the Moslem power. In 1579 she sent an embassy to Murad III, the Grand Turk, asking for permission for English merchants to trade in the Levant. Then in 1581 comes the second stage when the groups of traders are superseded by the monopoly company. A Charter, confirmed and enlarged in 1593, was granted to four merchants as the Turkey Company for seven years. In 1605 James I makes it permanent. But trade does not flourish greatly. Spain is very powerful in the Mediterranean. The English ships, which have compounded with the Turk and escaped the Barbary pirates and fought the fleets of the Italian Republics in the Levant, have to deal with the great Spanish galleons at Gibraltar. In 1590 the English fleet on its way home was attacked by the Spaniards and fought a most successful battle. Isolated merchants from time to time found their way by land across to the East. In 1583 Fitch, Leedes, and Newbury had gone by way of Aleppo and Baghdad to Ormuz, and then by sea to Goa and Agra and through Bengal to Pegu and Malacca. But it is not worth while to follow up such travels, for nothing came of them. Only a large and well-armed caravan could hope to force its way across the old land routes of the Near East to India.

Section III. The Way by the North-East

4. They could seek a way to the Indies north of the line of the Papal award, a way for long supposed to exist round the north of the American continent, in likeness to the way found by Magellan to the south of it. Or they could seek a similar way round the north of Asia through the unknown lands of Russia and Siberia to China and Japan.

An easy and natural road to this more northern territory would have been by way of the Baltic Sea. But this route

was blocked first by the monopoly of the Hansa and then by the jealousy of the Dutch. English enterprise found the way round by the lands north of Norway, of which Othere told Alfred. In 1553, in the reign of Edward VI, two ships, one commanded by Sir Hugh Willoughby and the other by Richard Chancellor, set out on behalf of some London merchants to explore the coast north and east of Norway for a possible way to the East by sea north of Asia.

We have never shown a just historical appreciation of the immense debt which the world owes to Portugal for the greatest enterprise in history, which opened up to the European more than half the known world, and introduced the ancient civilities of the East to European trade. The story has been neglected for the chance finding of the New World discovered by Columbus. But we have been equally neglectful of our own incomparable heroes. The White Sea and the way to Russia by Archangel and by the Dwina were discovered by Englishmen. Let us admit that the Portuguese in their first eighty years of exploration were greatly hindered by evil tradition and its terrors; that they had ships ill-fitted for ocean voyaging and no knowledge of distances or direction. The English explorers among the ice-fields of the North, whether East or West, had not so much the evil tradition but equally experienced the reality. They had, it is true, ships, instruments, and scientific lore which the early Portuguese heroes lacked, but like them the northern sailors had to learn by very sad experience the dangers to be expected in the seas which they explored.

Willoughby's ship went so far north that he is supposed to have touched or seen Nova Zembla. In later years the English based their claim to a monopoly of the Spitzbergen whale fishery on his supposed discovery. He attempted to winter on the coast of Lapland (? at the mouth of the Varzima, 68′ 30″ lat., 38′ 30″ long.), and the ship was found some two years later by another expedition, Willoughby and all his men frozen to death. There is a story which may or may not be true that Willoughby was still sitting in death in his cabin with his papers on the

table before him. Chancellor was more fortunate. Missing Willoughby's ship at the island of Vardo (70′ 20″) he went on into the White Sea and anchored at Manoksa at the mouth of the Dwina. The natives directed him to Moscow, whither he went to see and speak with the Czar Ivan (Vassilovitch) the Terrible, who gave him letters to the king, Edward VI, inviting trade.

In 1555 Queen Mary sent Chancellor with four ships back to Russia by this new route, to arrange for trade with the Czar and at the same time to learn all that it was possible to learn about a way "either by land or sea to Cathaia." When he came back he brought with him a Russian ambassador, Osep Nepea, from the Czar. He had arranged for a monopoly of trade in the White Sea, and for the right to establish factories at Colmogro, Vlogn, and elsewhere. But of his four ships one only made the coast of Scotland, to be wrecked in Pitsligo Bay, Chancellor with many others being drowned. Osep Nepea, who escaped, went back to Russia in 1557, on one of four ships sent by the queen to trade with Russia, under one Anthony Jenkinson.

Queen Mary gave a charter to the Adventurers, usually called the Russia or Muscovy Company, giving them a monopoly of the trade, and imposing upon poachers, or as they are called interlopers, the forfeiture of ships and goods, half to the Crown and half to the Company. The Company was further incorporated by Elizabeth in 1566.

Besides further English expeditions which followed, the Dutch traders, trying to reach the Indies, while avoiding the fleets of Spain and Portugal, soon followed the English into the White Sea. The English retained the monopoly of their trade with Russia by Archangel, the Hansa and the Dutch excluding them as far as possible from trade by the Baltic. But the Dutch made daring explorations to the extreme north in search of a passage to Cathay. Conflict here comes later over the Spitzbergen whale fisheries. The most famous of the Dutch voyages are those made by William Barentz and others financed by the merchants of Amsterdam. In the first voyage in 1594 they reached the

Orange Islands (lat. 77° N., long. 68° E.), Linschoten being with them as Commissioner. In 1595 a second expedition carrying Commissioners with them to trade on behalf of the United Provinces with China attempted to force its way through Pet's Straits. Then in 1596 a private venture of two ships, in one of which was Barentz, started to go north of Nova Zembla. One turned back, but Barentz's ship went on to Spitzbergen until, closed up in the ice, they were forced to winter there. In 1871 a Norwegian explorer discovered the relics where Barentz died. After a variety of sufferings so intense that it is almost incredible that men should have survived them, those who lived through the winter reached home in 1597 by the aid of some Russians who were fishing on the Lapland coast.

The further story of the Russian trade after the grant of a charter to the Muscovy Company by Queen Mary belongs properly to the seventeenth century, the second period of this European outpouring. But it is more convenient to deal with it very shortly here. It is not only that this particular Chartered Company in the English form began business nearly fifty years in advance of all the others, but the conditions under which it worked in Europe differed widely from those of the Companies which went further afield. Its history is not a long one.

The Company had no such freedom of action away from the political conditions of the times as came to the later Companies. The success both of trade and exploration was dependent on the relations between the two sovereigns of England and Russia. The Russian envoy came to England as an ambassador seeking political alliance, and the Company's trading agent was an ambassador carrying on political negotiations with Russia.

The objects sought by the Company were threefold: the discovery of a way to Cathay by the north of Asia; the opening of a route through Russia by the Caspian across Asia to the East; and trade with Russia itself. Of the first I have already spoken. It is sufficient only to refer to Jenkinson's petition to the queen in 1565. Relating that "out of Spain they have discovered all the Indies and seas

Occidental, and out of Portingale all the seas and Indies Oriental, so that by the Orient and the Occident they have compassed three parts of the unknown world," he pleads for a discovery of a passage to be found to Cathay by the north, that "there should great benefit ryse to your Majesties' realm of England by the great vent that would be made of all kind of woollen commodities made in this realm in those cold countries between the imagined strait (of no doubt to be found) and the said land of Cathay." The persistency of a search for the North-East passage shows how great were considered the obstacles to the "navigation of the Portingalles by the south" and even the route across Asia by the Caspian.

Russia was at this time under an absolute despot of the Asiatic kind. From 1245 to 1478 the Russian territories had been controlled by the Asiatic Tartars to whom its princes paid tribute. They periodically devastated the country with their wandering hordes, like the White armies financed by France and Britain in 1920–21. Then the beginnings of the Empire of Russia gradually expanded from the Dukedom of Vladimir to Moscow and Novgorod, the princes waging bloody wars with Poland over Livonia and Lithuania. Ivan III (1462–1505), while the Tartars were quarrelling among themselves, united the various districts into the Duchy of Moscow. He began the Kremlin; he encouraged the arts of Western Europe. Vassili III (1505–1533) continued the work, and Ivan IV, Vassilivitch, his grandson, named Ivan the Terrible (1533–1584), followed him. In 1546 he was crowned Czar at Moscow, and married Anastasia Zakharin, who died in 1560. Like our English Henry VIII he was married six times, and like him he murdered most of his wives. He founded the Russian Empire in blood. When Randolph and his embassy are imprisoned from October 1568 to February 20 in the next year, it is, says Tolstoi, because Ivan did not wish him to see the bloody executions daily going on. Flogging to death by wire whips was a common form of punishment.

Meanwhile he fought with all his neighbours. It is one of the miseries of empire that it calls for continual enlarge

ment; the large army must find employment until the deliverer bankruptcy comes to stop the Imperial madness. In 1552 Ivan took the fortress of Kazan. In 1554 he took Astrachan. Then all the Volga was Russian. He fought perpetually Sweden, Livonia, and Poland, and after his first wife's death deluged the land in blood. In 1558 he took Narva on the Gulf of Finland, which gave him a port on the Baltic; but his wars were not always successful. Narva was retaken, and Ivangorod fell, and no trade passed to Russia from the Baltic. In 1557, after Chancellor's visit, Elizabeth sends Anthony Jenkinson, a name to conjure by later, with four ships by way of the White Sea and the Dwina to Russia, carrying with him Osep Nepea, Ivan's envoy, to open up trade, and to try for a way to the East.

Lock, writing in 1575, gives as the list of commodities which the English bought from the Russians—fish of divers kinds, salt, tallow, train oil, soap ashes, hides, furs, wool, iron, paving stones, pitch, tar, ship masts and timber, hemp, flax, linen, yarns, cables and ropes. In exchange the English bring woollen cloths, kerseys and cottons ready for wearing, lead ready for roofing, pewter vessels and copper, also the commodities of other countries such as cloth of gold, silk, jewels, spices, sugar, etc. They brought also arms and ammunition for the Russians in their wars.

The English woollen goods had hitherto been brought in only by the Easterlings through the Baltic, by way of Denmark, Sweden, the Hansa towns, and Poland. The Company had every reason to expect an immense profit from the White Sea monopoly, not only from the trade with Moscow, but through Moscow with Persia, free from the Turk with whom Persia was perpetually at war, "and without knowledge of Italy and Spain and without any licence of the king of Portugal." They hoped that England would become the distributing point for all Russian merchandise to other European countries in rivalry with the Hansa. The great object was to divert the trade of Persia and the East from the Levant by way of Aleppo, Alexandria, and Tripoli to Astrachan, and thence to the north.

The English were to pay no customs or tolls of any

kind; but Dr. Giles Fletcher, the ambassador from Elizabeth to Ivan's son Feodor in 1588,[2] writing of the Lapps, speaks of the Englishmen who trade thither with cloth in exchange for fish, oil, and furs. At Cola, he says, and at Vardö the officials of the king of Denmark and the Russian emperor are present to take tribute at the trading.

Ivan was an absolute despot. The byword, says one, writing after his death, of the late Emperor Ivan Vassilivitch, was: that his people were like to his beard; the oftener shaven, the thicker it would grow, or like sheep that must needs be shorn once a year at the least to keep them from being overladen with their wool.

His exactions were limited, of course, by the actual necessities for forbearance, and no doubt by immemorial custom which could not be overstepped; but when a country is liable to the perpetual ravaging of enemies, there can be little limit to the autocracy of the ruler. The sources of revenue were the usual ones in a non-feudal society. There was rent of crown lands, in money and in various kinds of produce and animals, a liability to sow land and prepare corn for his use, a part of every measure of the corn raised, a money rent on the hundred, customs dues collected from the towns, fines for offences in court, payments out of lands for his soldiers and officials, confiscations from people whom he had driven into rebellion, and extraordinary taxes when he dared to collect them. He was always in deadly fear of revolution and hoped for such an alliance with England as would give him an ayslum if he were driven out.

Jenkinson sent his men with the envoy to Moscow. He himself went by way of Colmogor, where he proposed to set up a rope walk for which he had brought out artizans, and by Vologhda to Moscow. Then buying a boat and accompanied by others with a Tartar interpreter, he descended the Volga to Kazan and Astrachan, where he established agents for business. But the Tartars, like the modern White armies, had made a desert of the land between Kazan and Astrachan, where the famine is now raging, and Astrachan itself was depopulated by plague

and famine. His intention was to reach China from Astrachan across Asia. He and his companions sailed round the north and east coasts of the Caspian, and set out from Derbend with a caravan of a thousand camels for Bokhara. He got no farther. The beneficent autocracy of Kublai Khan, which had made it possible for the Polos to cross Asia to Cathay, had ceased, giving place to ceaseless wars between the Tartar tribes, who fought among themselves for plunder or maintained their followers by robbing the caravans. Jenkinson and his companions were plundered by these savages on the way; they found the towns in ruins and the trade dead. Arrived at Bokhara in December 1558, he finds that he can get no farther, and he goes back to the Caspian. Here they find their boat without anchor, cable, or sail. They manage to buy an anchor of a passing vessel, they spin a cable of hemp, they make a sail of cotton cloth, and after narrow escape from shipwreck they reach Astrachan, May 28, 1559.

Finding that in Persia his English cloth cannot compete with the cloth imported through the Mediterranean, and that he can do little in the way of trade in Persia or in the Caspian, he goes up the Volga to Kazan; then to Moscow, where he hands over to the Czar twenty-five Russians freed from slavery, and back to England in 1560. The Company had opened up a trade with Moscow and had set up agencies at other points. Otherwise the results of this first venture were not very satisfactory. But the Company sent out Jenkinson in 1561 to enlarge and settle their trade with Russia, if possible to open trade with Persia, or if not to try for a north-east passage by Nova Zembla, or for trade through Poland to Constantinople.

Arrived at Moscow, he found such opposition that he contemplated returning home. But through the help of Osep Nepea he gained the necessary protection and privileges from the changeable Czar. Then an opportunity seemed to have opened for trade to Persia. Turkey and Persia had gone to war, with the result that the Italian commercial travellers were cut off from their Persian market.

Accompanied by the Persian ambassador, in 1562 Jenkinson went once more to Astrachan, and thence crossing the Caspian, after the usual escapes from storms, sandbanks, and pirates, they reached Derbend, just north of the Caucasus, a place only visited hitherto by the Italians. After further adventures, Jenkinson came to the Shah at Casbin. But after long wars the Shah had made peace with the Turk; the Mediterranean trade had again opened. Jenkinson, finding he could do nothing, returned, negotiating with the lesser kings for trading privileges on the way. Several later attempts were made at Persian trade; there was still a hope to reach the East along this route. In April 1567 the Muscovy merchants, writing to their agents in Russia, say that they hear that there are slaves to be bought at the Caspian that have been at Ormuz, and speak the Portugal and Persian tongue. They suggest that some of them shall be bought by whom the state of Ormuz trade might be opened, and to send some of these with our men to Ormuz or near by, "there to practise for the trade of spices and drugs to be brought to the Caspian from Ormuz or Calicut."[3]

But robbers and general anarchy, and above all the difficulty of collecting debts from the benevolent and generous rulers, led the Company to give up this branch of their business. They could not compete with the Venetians and Turks who traded from the Levant, or with the Armenians, and though they had sometimes good treatment from the Shah, more frequently the local authorities robbed them. They fought pirates on the Caspian and on land; they died of malarial fever and of wounds; when they made great profits they were not paid. After a very disastrous attempt to trade at Baku and Derbend with the Turks, who were at war with Russia 1579–81, the Persian trade was given up.

The northern trade with Russia continued under a great deal of difficulty, caused in the first instance greatly by politics. Ivan was very anxious to make a treaty with Elizabeth for an offensive and defensive alliance, which she wisely refused. The renewal of the Company's monopoly rested a good deal on these political negotiations, the

English Company having as well to fight Hansa and Dutch opposition at the Court, and later the Spaniards courting the alliance of Ivan. He, perpetually fighting the Swedes and Poles, was anxious for the help of England's naval power. Writing to Elizabeth, he asks her for shipwrights and mariners, "maisters which can make shippes and sayle them"; when he was in very desperate condition in 1581 the Company on request by him to Elizabeth through Sir Jerome Horsey sent him copper, lead, powder, saltpetre, and brimstone to the value of £9,000.

Besides political difficulties, in a very few years the corruption, extravagance, and drunkenness of the servants of the Company was like that of the Portuguese in India and elsewhere. The agents intrigued with the Dutch to overthrow the monopoly and persuaded the Czar to allow them to carry on private trade. By 1583 the Dutch merchants had broken in upon the Company's monopoly and by heavy bribery had great friends at the Russian Court. A report by Christopher Burroughs on the decay of the Russian trade [4] gives as its reasons (1) the smallness of the trade, the few ships of the monopoly keeping out all others; (2) the great distance of the staple at Moscow (1,500 miles) from the coast, the cost of transit, the bad debts of the Czar and his Court, and the perpetual danger of the robbery of their goods by the Czar and his officers; (3) the consequent immorality and corruption of the badly paid Company's servants, who embezzle or trade on their own account; and (4) the private trade by these servants in Dutch ships by way of Narva and Riga to the detriment of the Company. The Czar treated the ambassadors of the British queen for the most part very discourteously.

The rest of the story is the record of a decaying Company. After the direct voyages to the East Indies by the Cape had been established, the search for a north-east passage by Nova Zembla became of no importance. When the British under James helped the Moslems to oust the Christian Portuguese from Ormuz, there was no further need to force a way by the very long route from Archangel to the Persian Gulf. The story ends in the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER XV

THE INVASIONS (*continued*)

Section I. The Way by the North-West

The attempt to find a way to the riches of the East by a north-west passage is a tale more varied but equally one of disaster. In 982 Eric the Red settled a colony of our Scandinavian ancestors in Greenland. In 1001 Lief, the son of Eric, explored the coast of America, calling the different points reached Helluland, Markland, Vinland. Vinland by sun observations was in latitude 41. In 1126 Bishop Arnold went to Greenland and set up an episcopal seat at Gardar. Greenland became a dependency of Denmark, and communications between the two countries continued until 1409.

Towards the close of the fourteenth century one Nicolo Zeno, a Venetian, went north on a voyage of discovery.[1] He was wrecked on the Faroes, and remained there as pilot captain of the ships of one of the chiefs. His brother Antonio joined him later. From the Faroes Zeno sailed to Greenland, where he heard of the coast of America from some survivors of the Scandinavian colonists. He found there a monastery of friar preachers, close by a volcanic hill, from the springs in which they obtained heat for forcing vegetables. There are hot springs and remains of buildings at Ormartok. Zeno's story has been questioned, because a later descendant, another Nicolo Zeno, carelessly tore up the manuscript account of the voyage. But enough remained to contain the narrative, and the account is probable.

Nothing is known of the end of the Greenland colony, though many attempts were made at re-discovery. It

may have been exterminated by Esquimaux or destroyed by volcanic eruption. Its disappearance is hardly likely to have checked Arctic exploration. No doubt many expeditions continued to go from Europe to the West, a continuity of the advance into the unknown by the nameless men who prepare the way for those whose well-timed attempts strike the popular fancy and enable them to figure as the historic discoverer.

The first voyage of historic importance in this direction took place when in 1496 John Cabot, an Italian, resident very likely as agent of one of the Italian republics at Bristol, obtained from Henry VII a licence or patent for himself and his sons, upon his own proper costs and charges, to seek out, discover and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions or provinces of the heathen and infidels, etc., which before this time have been unknown to all Christians.[2] Henry was to have one-fifth of the profits. It was an arrangement characteristic of the position of the mediaeval king towards discovery.

John Cabot went with one little ship manned by eighteen men, in 1497 sighted Newfoundland, and landed on some part of the coast of Labrador. Returning in August of the same year, John Cabot received a gratuity of £10 from Henry for his discovery. He appears to have undertaken a second voyage in 1498, in which he followed the coast line south to Florida.[3]

The ventures of Cabot were followed by various expeditions in the years following, notably voyages by an Anglo-Portuguese Syndicate in 1501–2, resulting in the early establishment of the cod fisheries on the Newfoundland banks. The Portuguese had very early settlements on Cape Breton and Nova Scotia for this purpose, and Breton, Basque, British, and Spanish sailors engaged in the business.[4]

Then in 1534 the French Breton, Jacques Cartier, from St. Malo, explored the coasts of Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The later English voyages are not of importance until we come to the adventures of the Yorkshireman, Martin Frobisher. For fifteen years he had "conferred, earnestly

but fruitlessly, with his private friends and with merchants on the project," but the merchants, he complains, were not wont to "regard virtue without sure, certain and present gains," which is not a characteristic of merchants only. At last, by the earl of Warwick and others, he was provided with means and set out in 1576 from Greenwich (Elizabeth waving to them from the window) with two barques of from twenty to twenty-five tons apiece, and a pinnace of ten tons, victualled for twelve months, manned by crews of thirty-five men in all. His expedition was opposed by the Muscovy Company, who very naturally feared that success in the divided quest for a passage to the East might destroy their Russian business. Frobisher took with him the map of the Zenos published in 1558.

The pinnace disappeared in a storm, and one of the barques went home with a sprung main mast and top mast blown away. Frobisher in the other barque, passing Greenland and sailing north-west "with the Greenland current," sighted Labrador. Missing Hudson's Straits, he entered a bay, now called Lumley's Straits, up which he sailed for twenty leagues. The incidents of the voyages are nearly the same for all these expeditions. They found Esquimaux who traded with them. They captured one of them, who died of cold when he reached England, and they lost a boat with five men. They then returned home to report progress.

Unfortunately one of them brought back with him some pieces of a black stone which he had picked up in the Straits. Thrown into the fire and sprinkled with vinegar, it glistened like gold. English assayers denied that it contained gold, but an Italian alchemist persuaded them to the contrary, and they were anxious to be so persuaded. As a consequence, in place of voyages for discovery of a passage to Cathay and the East, further expeditions went out to bring home shiploads of worthless rocks. In 1577 Frobisher went out with a queen's ship of two hundred tons, and two barques of thirty tons each. Going by the Orkneys and Faroes to Frobisher's Straits, they loaded the ships with ore, which was submitted to Commissioners at

home and approved. They traded with the natives, and as usual incurred their hostility by kidnapping a man and a woman with a sucking child.

As an example of the ills which these pioneers had to suffer, on their way home, says the narrator Best, "we perceived the rudder of our ship torn in twain and almost ready to fall away. Wherefore, taking the benefit of the time" (a lull in a terrible storm), "we flung half a dozen couple of our best men overboard, who, taking great pains under water, driving planks and binding with ropes, did well strengthen and mend the matter, who returned for the most part half dead out of the water." Finally they made Milford Haven.

In 1578 a third voyage was made with fifteen ships. Elizabeth and the Court were now keenly interested in the search for gold. They go out by the south coast and Ireland to bring back more rocks. After a terrible time among icebergs, drift ice, storms, and leaky ships, they returned with their cargoes. And, says Best, "there died in the whole fleet in all this voyage not above forty persons, which number is not great, considering how many ships were in the fleet, and how strange fortunes we had."

There was in the end no result but the honour of the men who went and suffered. A due assay of the rock showed that it contained no gold. The adventurers had no thanks and the men who had ventured their all to finance the expeditions spent their days in prison for debt, while their families starved. But there was no stay of the spirit which induced the first efforts. The search for the way to Cathay continued, each voyager, like Prince Henry's captains as they rounded the African coast, pushing a little bit further into the desert of ice and fog.

In 1585 the queen granted letters patent to Adrian Gilbert to search for the passage to Cathay, the Crown to have one-fifth of the profits. Two ships went to the north-west under John Davis, at the expense of merchants of London and the west country.

They coasted round Greenland by Davis Strait and Gilbert and Cumberland Sounds, finding "a red fruit,

sweet, full of red juice, and the ripe ones like corinths." A second voyage in 1586 took them to the coast of Labrador, catching cod, and wrestling with the Esquimaux, and in 1587 Davis made a third voyage with one ship, the others having deserted him, and reached Sanderson's Hope (72.20 N., 55 W.) and Baffin's Bay. After this, this great sailor went on several buccaneering expeditions, in 1589 with the earl of Cumberland to the Azores, and in 1591 with Cavendish in an attempt to reach the East by Magellan's Straits, on which voyage he discovered the Falkland Islands. Then he went as chief pilot and spy for England on Dutch ventures to the East, and as pilot under Sir John Lancaster for the East India Company. In 1604, on an illicit voyage outside the Company's charter, under a licence granted by the shifty King James, in a scuffle with Japanese pirates (*anglice* "patriotic seamen"), Davis was killed.

When the second stage of invasion began and the chartered companies took up the work, the north-west exploration still went on, until in 1670 the Hudson Bay Company received its charter.

The map-makers of all the naval countries, of Dieppe or Venice or Amsterdam, followed like the sea-gulls painfully in the wake of the voyager. They depict, with the greatest accuracy and wealth of detail, all the mistakes made by the men who toiled and suffered, all the confusions of lake and sea and bay and inlet and island and mainland and latitude and longitude, which for so long contributed to a belief in the passage to the East.

After the East India Company had been formed and chartered in 1601, the right to endure the dangers and losses of these expeditions, north-west and north-east, in the quest for the Indies, became matter of dispute between this Company and the Muscovy Company. The later expeditions will be touched on in this connection. I will notice here only two expeditions sent out in 1631 to the north-west, for their general interest in covering conditions applicable to all these Arctic voyages. Captain Lake went victualled completely for eighteen months. "I had," he says, "excellent fat beef, strong beer, good wheaten bread,

good Iceland ling, butter and cheese of the best, admirable sack and aqua-vitæ, peas, oatmeal, wheat-meal, oil, spice, sugar, fruits, and rice," with a quantity of the medicines of the time.

Captain James went out at the same time from Bristol. His voyage is notable, I think, for the exhibition of the true religious spirit, the spirit of the brave man of all ages and nations, as distinguished from the cant which represented God as the assistant in the loot of a Spanish ship. Either a different class of man adventured in these Arctic voyages, which is likely, or the physical conditions under which men fought awful nature face to face instead of fighting men whose arms were inferior, induced a condition of thought wanting in the Northern adventurers of the tropics. James and his men were obliged to winter in Hudson Bay with a ship which had been almost knocked to pieces in a place called Charlton Island (lat. 52° 3′). They suffered the most extraordinary hardships, Everything liquid was frozen as hard as wood and had to be cut with a hatchet. By April 1 but five men were left that could eat their allowance. "We had three sorts of sick men: those that could not move nor turn themselves in their beds, who must be tended like infants; others were, as it were, crippled with aches; and others that were somewhat better." When matters were at their very worst, and the ship apparently gone, Captain James thus addressed them: "My masters and faithful companions, be not dismayed for any of these disasters, but let us put our whole trust in God. His will be done. If it be our fortune to end our days here, we are as near heaven as in England; and we are much bound to God Almighty for giving us so large a time for repentance. He doth not in the meantime deny that we may use all honest means to save and prolong our natural lives." Pointing out that others in as desperate case have returned to their friends again, "if it be objected that they have happened in better climates both for temperateness of the air and for pacific and open seas, and provided withal of abundance of fresh victuals: yet *there is nothing too hard for courageous minds*

which hitherto you have shown, and I doubt will still do to the uttermost of your power." One is proud and glad that such men survived and reached home again.

Section II. Attacks on Home-coming Ships

In continuing the review of the outpourings of the Europeans during this period it would appear to be the most natural course to follow the story of their explorations and settlement on the eastern coast line of the North American continent from the extreme north southwards. But for the present I am dealing solely with the effort of the northern peoples to reach the Indies and to break into the Portuguese and Spanish monopoly of trade and treasure. The colonial history of the northern continent lies outside that subject. We will proceed with the struggle of the two Mediterranean Powers to maintain their monopoly of the Indies and the efforts of the English and Dutch to deprive them of it.

The plan of lying in wait for the rich carracks of the Spaniards or Portuguese on their way home, and looting them, went on always, the attack having an immense advantage over the defenders of the great liners, crowded with passengers, bullion, and merchandise, ships which had suffered for months from the storms of the Atlantic or the Cape. To this class of story belong the fight of the *Revenge* and the sacking of the *Madre de Dios* and the *San Felipo.* On such attacks on individual ships or merchant fleets I do not propose to dwell. Except as a record of intense suffering and extreme fortitude on both sides, they do not touch either on empire or trade. But the men who lay in wait had to fight other enemies besides the tired and disheartened seamen and traders. As an example of the terrible sufferings which these English seamen might have to endure, when in 1589 the earl of Cumberland was returning from the Azores with his plunder, a very great number of his men died from intolerable thirst, ten or twelve, says Purchas, every night. The water was exhausted, and the winds would not let them reach either England or Ireland. Tossed about in storms, fighting day and night with adverse winds, says

Edward Wright, who tells the story, "the hailstones we gathered up and ate more pleasantly than if they had been the sweetest comfits in the world. The raindrops were so carefully saved that as near as we could manage it not one was lost in the ship. And the water which fell down and was trodden under foot was not lost I warrant you, but watched and tended carefully (yea, sometimes with strife and contention) at every hole and other places where it ran, with dishes, pots, cans and jars." I could never understand why anyone should wish to read Dante who had at hand the records of the sixteenth-century seamen. Our national life is founded on the tradition of their power to endure suffering.

It remains only to consider the direct attacks on the Indies, the armed raids in the prohibited regions east and west. I will deal first with the west. With the isolated attacks here on Spanish shipping it is not worth while to deal, except for Drake's splendid achievement of the circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan's Straits. The success of such plundering expeditions had generally no effect. The second attempt almost invariably failed, as the enemy was prepared. In this period, before the creation of the Chartered Companies, the northern ruler, whether Dutch or English, while quite willing to take a share of the profit, was very careful to pretend that he knew nothing of any of these violences.

Section III. The Way by the South-West

Both English and Dutch tried the forcing of Magellan's Straits as a way to the East. As an English example (the story is told by William Magoth, one of the survivors), in 1589 Chidley and others set out to go by these Straits with three ships to Chili. The smallest ship reached Port Desire 48° south of the Equator on the coast of Brazil, "by which time there died of our company by God's visitation (they were ninety-one men and boys of divers diseases) sixteen persons." Here they found good store of seals. Going into the Straits they took and salted hogsheads of penguins.

They refreshed themselves with mussels. In a storm they lost their boat and fifteen men, and sending seven men in another boat to land they saw them killed by the natives. They never got through the Straits. After fighting contrary winds for six weeks and losing thirty-eight men, they turned back. The six men left made Alderney, and ran on the rocks west of Cherbourg, where the ship broke up. Leaving a Spaniard and a Breton in France, the other four men went home in a barque to Weymouth.

In 1586 Cavendish had followed Magellan and Drake round the world by this route. In 1591 he tried it again and failed. He never got through the Straits, and died on the voyage. Davis, the great Arctic navigator, was one of the party. The crews suffered incredible torments from scurvy and famine. Their dried penguins "began to corrupt." The sick men were put on shore on the coast of Brazil to shift for themselves. One of them, Knivet, who survived and remained for twelve years in the country, tells how "twenty of us were set on shore: all were able to go up and down although very weakly," except himself. He, having lost seven of his toes from frostbite and suffering from scurvy, could neither speak nor stir. When he awakes after many hours from a swoon, he sees the rest "lye dead and adying around me: these men had eaten a kind of pease that did grow by the sea side which did poyson them."

In 1598 five ships from Rotterdam set out to go to the East by these Straits. After much burning and plundering of the Portuguese settlements at the Cape Verde Islands and Guinea, and the loss of many men by fever, they crossed the Atlantic. They spent months in getting through the Straits, and afterwards lost three ships by a storm in the Pacific. In the end they went back through the Straits and home by Guinea. Out of some four hundred men only thirty-six came back to Rotterdam in the one ship.

The passage through the Straits of Magellan was so difficult and dangerous that every effort was made to discover a way to the East round the American continent

to the south of the Straits. This was accomplished for Holland by Jacques Le Maire and Captain Schouten, who went in 1615 with two ships. They passed round the land called Tierra del Fuego, and discovered a new strait, the northern point of which, as they came from the town of Hoorn, was called Cape Horn.

In spite of the fiery spirit of exploration which, accompanying the search for a passage by the west, possessed adventurous Europeans, only few and isolated attempts at permanent settlement had been made on any part of the American continents within the first thirty years after Columbus' first voyage, and no great source of wealth had been discovered. Yet according to the ideas of that time the world was getting well populated. In 1503 Amerigo Vespucci had visited Rio de la Plata and Paraguay; in 1513 Vasco Nunez de Balboa discovered the Pacific from Darien and was murdered from jealousy of his success. In 1540 the French had attempted a settlement on the St. Lawrence which failed; in 1559 the Spaniards, under the great leader Hernando de Soto, had traversed Florida and explored the valley of the Mississippi, and laid their bones along its waters; in 1562 a body of French Huguenots settled in Florida, to be exterminated by the Spaniards; in 1584 and in 1587 Raleigh had attempted to plant colonies in Virginia, attempts which were his true title to fame, but they met with disastrous failure. Brazil was being built up by the heretic and Jewish settlers from Portugal. But the time had not yet come for the forming of colonies for permanent settlement. The adventurers of the sixteenth century, if they were Protestant, went in search of gold and wealth, as with Frobisher; if they were Catholic, they went in search of gold and wealth, but also often as Crusaders accompanied by men such as St. Francis Xavier or Las Casas to preach the Christian faith to the pagans. In either case, except for this desire where it existed to preach the faith, the natives were regarded as outside any laws of war or of humanity.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SEARCH FOR A WAY TO THE EAST BY PANAMA

Section I. Expeditions by Way of Yucatan and Mexico

The search for a passage to the East Indies through the narrow strait which connects the two continents of America continued steadily after Balboa had discovered the Pacific. Spanish ships risked the tropical storms along the coast, many being wrecked; expeditions for the discovery of the supposed passage adventured the sufferings of famine, malaria, and hostile natives, and small settlements had been made at various unhealthy points, before Cortes set out on his conquest to the north, or Pizarro to the south of the isthmus.

This search for a strait on the coast where Balboa first saw the Pacific brings us to some of the most romantic and daring deeds in all history.

In February 1517 a party of adventurers under the command of Hernandez de Cordova set out with the approval of Velasquez, the governor of Cuba, on a voyage of discovery in three ships. They sailed due west; storms drove them to Cape Catoche, the northernmost point of Yucatan, which their pilot told them was an island. They met, as they sailed west along the coast, Indians of a far higher degree of civility than those of the islands. They were dressed in cotton cloths and they sowed crops of maize. As the Spaniards marched inland they came upon buildings of lime and stone, in which they saw chests containing figures of birds and fishes fashioned in alloyed gold. Attacked by the Indians, they defeated them, and carried

off the chests. After coasting round to Campeachy, meeting with hostility throughout from the natives, they returned to Cuba, having lost about half their men, with great reports of the wealth of the country.

Velasquez, who got all the credit with the authorities and most of the spoil, but none of the pain, fitted out another venture of four ships in April 1518. The winds sent them a little farther south to the island of Cozumel. From this point they went round the coast of Yucatan as far as S. Juan de Ulloa. Here they met messengers from Montezuma, the emperor of Mexico, who had heard of their arrival, and who gave them in exchange for their green glass beads, gold of some value. Here for the first time they saw the bodies of men lying who had been sacrificed by the Mexicans to their gods, the heart having been cut out and the limbs cut off to be eaten. It was a sight with which they were afterwards to become only too familiar. After some further journeying they returned.

Meanwhile Velasquez was fitting out another expedition, of which he gave command to Hernando Cortes, a Spanish hidalgo from Estremadura, living in Cuba. But as soon as the appointment was made, jealousy and intrigue worked successfully to have it revoked. Aware of the plotting against him, Cortes started off in haste to avoid his arrest, which had been ordered. He left Cuba for the island of Cozumel with 11 ships, 110 sailors, 553 soldiers, 200 Indians, and a few Indian women as cooks and servants. He had 16 horses, 10 heavy guns, 4 light guns or falconets, 13 musketeers, and 32 cross-bowmen. The rest of the soldiers were armed with sword and buckler. They were for the most part hidalgos of Castile, but the means of the adventurers may be gauged by Diaz's description [1] of one Sedeno: "He was the richest man in our army, possessing, besides a horse, a ship, a negro, bread, and bacon; some of which articles were indications of great wealth at that time; for horses and negroes were hardly to be procured for any money."

It was in February 1519 that this first of the bands of Spanish adventurers went forth to the conquest of great

empires in the new world, to achieve deeds beyond any effort of the imagination. It is an epic story of the conquest of a great and powerful and well-organised community by a very small band of men, a story for which there is no parallel in the world's history. For a parallel in contempt of death alone you must look back to Thermopylæ or Marathon, or forward to Willoughby at Delhi or to Rorke's Drift. You will find no parallel of conquest in any records. It is worth a brief notice, because it is not possible to understand the English raids of the sixteenth century in the East or West Indies as they must have appeared to the Europeans of that day, and I suppose to the Latin nations of this, or to see Raleigh's attempt to conquer his El Dorado in its true perspective, without some knowledge of the conquest which preceded it, and because, owing to the contempt taught for the Catholic Iberian nations, the heroism of the Spaniards, the principles which underlay their adventures, and the lessons which we may learn for our Empire, have been hidden from the British reader.

The behaviour of an invading army depends very much on the character of the man who leads. The character of Cortes was expressed at once on his arrival at Cozumel. He had sent one ship in advance under one Alvarado, who later figured in the conquest, who, on landing, looted the towns, from which the natives fled at their approach. Cortes on arrival severely censured his subordinate, ordered all the goods taken to be returned, paid for the provisions eaten, and gave presents, on which the natives came back and gave their assistance to the strangers. But the action was not the result of fear or undue caution. Cortes began at once a practice, only justified by the highest dictates of conscience, which throughout the conquest entailed terrible risks, in one case a dreadful catastrophe. He made war as a Christian crusader on the gods of the country, the gods to whom the terrible human sacrifices were devoted. After the priest of the temple had made a long harangue to the people, Cortes answered him "by signs and interpretations," and followed up his discourse by rolling the wooden idols down the steps to show the

Indians how little help they might expect from their deities. He then caused an altar to be erected, set up a crucifix and an image of the Virgin, and had Mass said, to which the people, not understanding the language, listened with great attention.

The Spaniards here learn of two Spaniards in captivity, who had been wrecked on the coast eight years before. They are searched out; one, having a wife and three boys, will not leave; the other, Aguilar, is bought from his master, and becomes a valuable interpreter to the expedition.

Provided by the now friendly natives plentifully with provisions and water, the Spaniards, sailing down into the Bay of Campeachy, landed at the Tabasco River. Here they had to engage in very severe fighting with the natives. The quality of their enemies was such that it is unlikely that they would have marched into Mexico with so small a force if they had known what superiority of numbers and discipline they were later to encounter. The armies of these coast tribes were clothed in quilted cotton and possessed of good arms according to the times;[2] "their number covered the whole plain," and they fought with the utmost bravery and discipline, retiring in perfect order. After suffering severely in several engagements, Cortes was obliged to order the horses to be disembarked. These struck the enemy with dismay, as they imagined horse and rider were one, enabling the Spaniards to obtain a victory.

After the victory Cortes again showed his good sense. He sent to the enemy some prisoners who had been taken, with presents of various kinds to reassure their countrymen, an act which resulted in a truce and friendly embassy bringing valuable presents of gold and provisions, above all a present which proved to be of the very highest value to the little army. This was twenty women as slaves. One of these was a young woman of the chieftain class, who had been sold by her own mother as a slave to another chief to ensure the succession to her younger half-brother. This woman, Dona Marina, was the cause of saving the Spaniards on many occasions. She knew the Mexican

language, and also that of the coast tribes and of Yucatan. Identifying herself with the Spaniards, she obtained for them reliable information of the highest value, putting them on their guard in time of danger. She bore Cortes a son named Don Martin Cortes, and afterwards married a Spanish cavalier.

Cortes and his men now sailed along the coast north to S. Juan de Ulloa, a little north of the present city of Vera Cruz, and landed there about Easter 1519. Here they traded with the natives and interviewed the Indian governor, who in reply to Cortes's swagger about his mighty prince, the Emperor Charles V, gave him as a present from Montezuma a quantity of gold ornaments well wrought, ten loads of the finest mantles of white cotton adorned with plumage, and an abundant supply of provisions. The handful of Europeans had already lost thirty men by sickness and wounds, heat and malaria, and were glad to have a short rest.

The governor's embassy contained painters of the hieroglyphic writing of the Mexicans, who drew pictures on canvas of the Spaniards, their horses, dogs, and guns. To this Cortes replied by firing off the guns with a high charge of powder. There follows an embassy from Mexico bearing magnificent presents of articles wrought in gold with many other beautiful things. After Cortes had sent a small present in return, Montezuma sent word that he could have no further communication with them. The cause of this would appear to have been the preaching of the friar against the idols and against human sacrifices. From this point the Indians, who had been feeding them, reduced their efforts so much that the Spaniards were like to starve.

There now comes about the usual restiveness and incipient mutiny of the men who had had enough, the partisans of Velasquez, who wanted to go home and report to him. Cortes and his friends reply by building a town which they call Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, and his party manœuvre and arrange his appointment as the head of a municipal authority which they now set up, appointing a group of officials,

They now went to a town called Cempoalla, one of thirty towns inhabited by a tribe who had only recently been brought under the rule of Montezuma, to whom they owed no good will. While the Spaniards are listening to the complaints of the cacique against him, messengers arrive from Montezuma expressing his anger at their receiving the Spaniards, and ordering them to send twenty young men and women to be sacrificed as a penalty. Cortes persuaded the people to seize the envoys. Then in the night he released them, and sent them as from himself back to Mexico. Montezuma protested to Cortes, but sent armies against the rebellious tribes.

Cortes, now horrified at the daily sacrifices and the exhibition of human flesh for the cannibal feasts which accompanied them, took the same measures as at Cozumel. In spite of the fury of the priests, and regardless of the great danger to themselves, the Spaniards hurled down the gods, broke them in pieces, and burned them, protecting themselves against the attempted vengeance of the people by seizing as hostages the cacique and others. They then set up the Cross and an altar, and had Mass said in the purified temple. Offered eight young Indian women for intermarriage Cortes insisted upon their baptism as part of the alliance before he would consider the matter.

The army now send a ship with a letter to Charles V, with all the treasure which they had received. It was a remarkable proof of Cortes's great command over his men, that at such a time, with an unsettled mutiny in the camp, he found no difficulty in persuading them to give up their shares of the spoil for this occasion so as to make the result appear the greater to Charles V, to their own future advantage.

The ship was ordered to sail direct to Spain, but in spite of orders, they touched at Cuba. Velasquez, hearing the news, at once equipped an expedition of eighteen ships against Cortes under one Pamphilo de Narvaez, of which we shall hear later.

About this time a ship arrived, sent by the governor of Jamaica to take possession of the country in his name.

Cortes was unable to seize the ship, but he obtained for his army six men who had landed.

He now took a very decisive step. Some mutineers had tried to seize a ship and escape to Cuba, but had been stopped by the rest of the men. By the advice of his friends, Cortes dismantled the ships, taking out of them the iron and rigging, and sank the whole fleet, thus cutting off all possibility of desertion. Then they marched to Mexico, and the conquest began.

Section II. The Communal Society and Civility in Mexico

Before we continue the narrative, it is well to give some account of the face of the country, and of the splendid imperial power which these few Europeans overthrew. It is all the more necessary because the outpourings of the Englishmen led them to the occupation of the Arctic and temperate climates of North America, lands in which they had not to contend with any ancient civility. The Indians to whom the English were opposed were of that low grade described as "the poor Indian, whose untutored mind sees God in clouds and hears Him in the wind." It is in consequence hard for them to comprehend that the Indians to whom Cortes's little band of heroes was opposed were a highly civilised people, who, whether judged by their conceptions of theology, or science, or of the arts domestic and industrial, or by their system of law or political organisation, were in very many respects the equal, and in some the superior, of the highest European culture of their time, even in some points to that of our own day. But they lacked an acquaintance with several things which may be said to sum up our present European civilisation. They had never seen horses, or sea-going ships, and they had no knowledge of the uses of iron or of fire-arms. In one respect only was the European of that day their superior; he preached, and in a halting way practised, Christianity as a contrast to their horrible religion demanding an incessant human sacrifice of youth and strength and beauty, accom-

panied by feasts, as part of the religious rite, on the bodies of the sacrificed. As captives taken in war were reserved for these hideous orgies, one of Cortes's chief difficulties with his Indian allies was from the first the prevention of the sacrifice by them of their prisoners. The practice preserved the lives of the Spaniards sometimes in the struggle when they might have been killed, but for the wish of the Indians to take them alive for the sacrificial altar. Apart from this, the civilisation of the Aztecs was of an extremely high order, both moral and intellectual. So far as the framework of society was concerned, the two systems of living, that of the Spaniards, at that time the most advanced of European peoples, and that of the Aztecs of Mexico, or the Indians of Peru, will be found in contrast in Appendix M.

The Aztecs, the imperial power of Mexico, came, we are told, to the country some time at the end of the twelfth century and founded the city of Mexico about 1325. In the fifteenth century these Aztecs, the tribes of Tezcuco, and the kingdom of Tlacopan formed a defensive and offensive alliance which they faithfully kept for more than a century. This league, headed by the Aztecs, the strongest and fiercest of these tribes, conquered the greater part of the tribes on the peninsula, making them all tributary to Mexico, so that when Cortes invaded the country the Aztec empire stretched from the Pacific to the Atlantic, and south to Guatemala and Nicaragua. But it was by no means a united people who had submitted to the sceptre of Montezuma. Many of the conquests, such as of the coast tribes with whom Cortes first came in contact, were recent, the demands for tribute and taxation by the conquerors were odious, and there was a bitter spirit of discontent abroad. To this may be added, as a potent cause for the success of Cortes, that a civil war between two princes for the throne of Tezcuco had resulted in making the defeated prince the enemy of Montezuma. When the Spaniards land on the coast, the coast tribes, although they acquaint Montezuma with the arrival, do not wait for his leave either to do battle or to make treaties.

The Aztec emperor ruled as overlord all these numerous tribes, tribes speaking languages so remote from each other that the interpreters of the coast did not necessarily know the speech of the interior. The Aztec government was the typical tribal monarchy, elective within the royal family, the emperor being chosen by a body of six electors. There was a state council of a few members and a class of nobles, for the most part his kinsfolk, who held the principal offices, who also, holding great landed properties, were expected to lead their followers to perform military service.

The revenues, besides the returns in kind from crown lands and work of all sorts given, consisted of shares of produce paid into the treasury by the inhabitants of the different districts under Aztec authority. The mines belonged to the emperor, and there was tribute levied on manufactured goods. The legal procedure would appear to have been just and equitable,[3] dealing for the most part with criminal matters, subject on occasion to the unlimited violence of the emperor. We are told that judges appointed by him held office in the cities, and that taking bribes by a judge was punishable by death. The proceedings in the courts were set forth in hieroglyphic paintings, the Aztec writing.

They had also hospitals for the cure of the sick and rest-houses for the traveller.

The social and industrial state of these Indians was remarkably advanced. Their agriculture was of a high order, the work being done by the men, the lands fertilised by a system of irrigation by canals, and the timber carefully preserved as a prevention of drought. They had ample granaries to guard against famine, then so frequently desolating backward Europe; they mined silver, lead, tin, and copper, and washed gold in the streams; and they dressed for war in quilted cotton cloths, with armour of silver.

In two respects they showed great superiority over Europe. There was no military caste; merchants were held in high respect. Travelling through the country in caravans, they held their own merchant courts, in which

questions of trade were decided. Another proof of civility was that they made a paper or papyrus of cloth or cotton or other materials, on which were painted their records in pictures, most lifelike representations of events and creatures. Following the example of Ximenes, who from barbarous theological enmity destroyed the invaluable Arab MSS. in Granada, the priests who accompanied the conquerors destroyed all the Aztec MSS. which they could reach.

Their wonderful gardens, covering immense areas and stocked with every variety of plants, their aviaries full of birds, their fishponds and pleasure-houses, the great beauty of their manufactures of the precious metals, their fine cloths, excite the wonder of the Spaniards as showing a taste and refinement unequalled at that time in Europe. "We were conducted," says Bernal Diaz of one of the towns near Mexico, "to our lodgings in palaces magnificently built of stone and of timber which was cedar, with spacious courts and apartments furnished with canopies of the finest cotton. We walked through the gardens, which were admirable to behold from the variety of beautiful and aromatic plants, and the numerous alleys filled with fruit trees, roses, and various flowers. Here was also a lake of the clearest water which communicated with the lake of Mexico by a channel cut for the purpose and capable of admitting the largest canoes. The whole was ornamented with works of art, painted and admirably plaistered and whitened, and it was rendered more delightful by numbers of beautiful birds." After expressing his intense admiration, the old soldier concludes: "All is destroyed, and that which was a lake is now a tract of fields of Indian corn and so entirely altered that the natives themselves could hardly know it." Alas! alas! so it was only too often throughout the lands, whether of Asia or Africa or America, invaded by Europeans of all nations. Greatly inferior alike to the Arabs of the Mediterranean or to the Indians of the East or West in all the arts and sciences except those which related to war, they destroyed a great part of the civilised life upon which they had intruded.

The Azt…mate of Mexico was changed by their reckless tribes, t…on of timber, the gardens and the lakes and that …s disappeared; the great roads and aqueducts of …eru were let fall into ruin, the flocks of llamas consumed, the industries of the country, in the hands of serfs, decayed.[4]

But over all this beautiful abundance and culture hung a cloud which no European could view without an attempt to drive it away, an awful cult of human sacrifices demanding numberless victims yearly,[5] and cannibal feasts on the bodies of victims, not for food, but as part of a religious rite. In order to account for the co-existence of this horror with so high a state of culture, it has been suggested that the Aztecs derived their advance in the arts from some former occupiers of the land, and that the human sacrifices were native to them. It may be so, but it would appear to me to be much more likely that the Mexicans taught the arts to the peoples conquered by them, but, as too often happens, took over the gods of the peoples conquered, as did Rome, when her Empire spread towards the East. Not even conquerors dare to ignore altogether the religious rites of the conquered, and human sacrifices of the young men and maidens of the conquered tribes helped to confirm their supremacy. The horror was not at all confined to the Aztecs, but spread through the entire territory over which the Spaniards went. (Appendix K.)

The hatred of the Aztec, which the call for victims for sacrifice bred among the subordinate tribes, undoubtedly helped the Spaniards to achieve the conquest.

It is this mighty and most highly organised empire, containing millions of brave and well-disciplined warriors, armed with weapons very little inferior to those of the Spaniards, which Cortes, with some 450 Spaniards, sets out to conquer. I have mentioned the various causes which assisted him in the conquest. There was one other cause which, acting on the superstitious side of the Indian, contributed very materially to weaken the defence. There was an historical tradition that the god of arts and agriculture, Quetsalcoatl, a white-bearded man, had in times past gone to the east, and had left the country promising

that he would send from the east white men who would rule over them. Quite possibly this god may have been some European, northern Viking or Mediterranean mariner, who had happened by the trade winds on the Gulf of Mexico, a man through whom the Mexicans had learnt the arts of life and some of the astronomical science for which they were remarkable. Be that as it may, the belief that these wonderful strangers, with their fearful horses and their weapons vomiting flame, were the men-gods from the east promised by the Aztec deity half disarmed the suspicions and enmity on which any defence could be founded. It was only when the Spaniards, in their zeal for religion, endangered themselves by hurling down the wooden gods from their temples that the Aztecs awoke to their danger.

Montezuma appears at all times to have tried to modify the hate of the priests for the men who contemned their holy religion, and at the same time to check the desire of the lay conquerors to proceed in the work of conversion, and was from the first quite willing to accept them as the fulfilment of the prophecy, himself ready to become, as I see him, half a Christian, had events so designed. When they come to audience with him, he welcomes them, telling them, says Diaz, that "he was happy to offer us all the favour he had in his power to bestow, for we were undoubtedly those who had been mentioned by his ancestors, who had predicted that there would come certain men from that part where the sun rises to govern these countries; and it could mean no other but us, who had fought so valiantly since our arrival in their country," to which Cortes replied that "we were certainly those of whom it had been prophesied." When at another interview Cortes attempted to explain to him the mysteries of the Christian religion, Montezuma replied, "In regard to the creation of the world our beliefs are the same, and we also believe you to be the people who were to come to us from where the sun rises."

Montezuma is to me one of the very pathetic characters of history. A mighty emperor, ruling with almost

unlimited power over a numerous people, he stands in a pitiable indecision, turning first to one side and then to the other. Urged by his priests to destroy the insolent strangers, receiving from them and from his nobles and chiefs of territories contradictory rumours about them, anxious to reconcile the prophecy with its fulfilment at their hands, and evidently willing, if he had dared, to give up the human sacrifices in which the savage priesthood delighted, he appears as a possible link between the two races and the two religions. But most of the political catastrophes of the world come from fear and suspicion, which were here never absent from either side.

CHAPTER XVII

THE SPANISH CONQUEST OF MEXICO

We now begin the story of the conquest. In August 1519 Cortes, accompanied by a number of Indian allies and porters, set out for Mexico with a force of four hundred foot soldiers, fifteen horses, and seven guns, leaving the rest of his men as a garrison in Villa Rica. The land of Mexico, like Peru or Guiana or Natal, rises from sea level at the coast gradually to a great height of many thousand feet inland. The city of Mexico is situated in a very high valley, surrounded by great mountains, one of which, Popocatepetl, rises to 17,825 feet.[1] As they go steadily climbing the rising ground, in all the towns on the road near the temples they meet the depressing sight of great heaps of human skeletons and skulls.

The Spaniards were advised by their Indian allies to go by way of Tlascala, a province which had preserved its independence and was friendly with the coast tribes; the cacique of a large town at which they stopped by the way advised them to go, not by Tlascala, but by way of Cholula, advice which they refused. Sending messengers to Tlascala, they found that the whole country was in arms against them, the Tlascalans assuming that as their Indian allies were subject to Montezuma, the Spaniards must be in alliance with their enemy. They came at length to an immense wall of lime and stone built by the Tlascalans to keep out the Mexicans. Then follow a series of desperate battles against overwhelming numbers of uniformed and disciplined men armed with long lances and tremendous two-handed swords, besides their bows and arrows. The dauntless Spaniards fought in a compact square against these enormous hosts, their few guns doing terrible execution against

the dense masses of the enemy. After losing several men and a horse whose head was cut off at one blow by a two-handed sword, about seventy men and all the horses being wounded, they bivouacked in the open air exposed to the cutting winds of a high altitude, having no medicinal remedies except the fat of a dead Indian, and no provisions except the Indian dogs which they caught in the villages.

Their attempts at a treaty with the Tlascalans were frustrated by the priests, who advised a night attack on the ground that the Spaniards drew their strength from the sun. But this attack, meeting with a bad defeat, discredited the priests, and led the way to a settlement, the Tlascalans having also heard the tradition of the Eastern strangers. While they are negotiating, envoys come from Montezuma, and they all enter Tlascala together.

There were five tribes of Tlascala, Diaz tells us, who came separately, each in a different uniform. On all occasions Cortes never failed to exhort them upon the Christian religion and the necessity of giving up their idols and human sacrifices, and when offered young women as wives, insisted on their baptism. He is anxious to destroy the idols, but Father Olmeda, who appears to have been the highest type of missionary priest, dissuades him from this rash act for the present.

Taking with them two thousand Tlascalan warriors, the Spaniards set out for Mexico, going by way of Cholula, a town in a fertile and cultivated valley, having an excellent manufacture of earthenware. For two days all went well, then suspicion began on all sides; the Cholulans ceased to bring provisions or to meet or deal with them, and Cortes, warned by his own outposts, by the Tlascalans, and by Dona Marina, discovered that staked pits had been dug for the horses near their quarters, barricades put up in the streets, troops sent by Montezuma from Mexico to assist, and victims, including five children, sacrificed to the war-god.

There appears to have been no doubt of the reality of the plot against him; the Spaniards, forestalling it, called the priests and chiefs and others into their headquarters

and made a general slaughter. So far as any such slaughter of an invaded people can be excused at all, it can only be defended in the light of the very small numbers of the invaders in the midst of an undoubtedly hostile and fully armed people, where prisoners of war were sacrificed and eaten. At Cholula as at Tlascala the Spaniards found cages full of victims being fattened for sacrifice. These they released. Father Olmeda again prevented the dangerous act of the destruction of the idols.

Dismissing at their request their allies of Cempoalla, they set out from Cholula for Mexico with their Tlascalan allies. Crossing the high pass between two enormous volcanoes, some of the Spaniards from sheer devilment ascended Popocatepetl and looked down into the crater.

Mexico City was built, Venice-like, on the water of a great lake, connected with the mainland by three broad causeways, which were broken from time to time by bridged apertures; the streets of the city itself were divided by canals; so that it was not only a place of enormous strength, but one from which it might be very difficult to retire across the openings. The country around was very highly cultivated.

In spite of an embassy from Montezuma to stop them, they entered Mexico on November 8, 1519. "Our number," says Diaz, "did not amount to 450." Montezuma came to meet them, borne in the arms of the princes of Tezcuco, Iztapalapan, Tacuba, and Cuyocan, under a canopy of the richest materials, ornamented with green feathers, gold, and precious stones, which hung in the manner of fringe; he was most richly dressed and adorned, and wore buskins of pure gold ornamented with jewels. It is worth while to dwell slightly on the state of the Indian emperor, lest the reader should confuse this condition with the nomadic tribes met with by the English in Virginia.

Montezuma received them with most excellent and easy manners, and entertained them very handsomely. His cooks, says Diaz, had upwards of thirty different ways of cooking meats, and they had earthen vessels so contrived as to keep them always hot. For the table of Montezuma

himself above three hundred dishes were dressed. At his meals in the cold weather a number of torches of the bark of a wood which makes no smoke and has an aromatic smell were lighted, and that they should not throw too much heat, screens ornamented with gold and painted with figures of idols were placed before them. The table was covered with white cloths and napkins, and women brought him water and towels for his hands. He drank chocolate. After his meals he smoked tobacco, while jesters and dancers performed before him.

One of his princes kept the accounts in a number of books. Among his weapons were "lances much longer than ours with blades six feet in length, so strong that if they fix in a shield they do not break, and sharp enough to use as razors." Aviaries of all kinds of birds, cages of beasts of all kinds, and poisonous vipers, including the rattlesnake, "poisonous serpents which have in their tails somewhat that sounds like castanets," were kept in one of the palaces. The manufactures of the precious metals and jewellery, the cloths of cotton and feathers, the paintings, the gardens with their pavilions and baths, the quantities of merchandise of all kinds are extravagantly praised by the conquerors. They were struck by the number of canoes bringing provisions and merchandise from the mainland, and the houses in the city joined by drawbridges. Water was supplied to the city by a great aqueduct from Chepultepeque. There are thatched lavatories on the public roads for passengers. Those who had been to Rome and Constantinople said that for convenience, regularity and population they had never seen the like.

But they were taken also by Montezuma into the temple of the gods; "the walls and pavements of this temple were so besmeared with blood that they stank worse than all the slaughter-houses of Castile." Human hearts lay as offerings before the idols. In the war-god's temple was a drum of enormous size, the head of which was made of the skins of large serpents. The sound could be heard many miles away. It was the sound recording human

sacrifices which, to their cost, the conquerors heard on later occasions. Diaz gives in considerable detail the horrors of these terrible temples.

Now, after some little stay in the quarters assigned to them by the emperor, the Spaniards did an act of which each reader must make judgment for himself. One of the worst features of this invasion of densely populated countries by a few people of another race, religion, and social habits, relying for their safety on adventitious circumstances, lies in the mutual distrust in which each holds the other, and in the great difficulty under which each side lies when judging of the truth of the statements made to them by their interpreters or of the rumours which they hear. Fear is the chief cause of war, whether then or now. It is the chief cause of cruelty and the use of force the world over. No European nation which has aspired to Empire has any record in this respect, whether then or now, which enables it to throw stones at another. So we must not be surprised that the handful of Spaniards in the great city, surrounded by a great armed population practising human sacrifice, cut off by water, distant by thousands of miles from their fellow countrymen, listened to the suspicions of their Tlascalan allies, and read into the friendly demeanour of Montezuma every kind of treachery, poison, and sudden attack. To fall in battle, brave men are not afraid ; to be killed and eaten as a sacrifice to a wooden idol is another matter. They were still further concerned by an account which just then reached them of a happening to their garrison at Villa Rica, who had suffered the loss of their leader and six men in a raid on a neighbouring town. The Cholulans had put on Montezuma the blame of their intended treachery.

They determined to seize the person of Montezuma as a hostage for their own safety. Accordingly, Cortes with a number of his men waited on him and, reproaching him with the attacks on them, insisted that he should accompany them to their quarters, to which he very unwillingly submitted. Cortes then ordered the chiefs who had been the cause of the death of the men at Villa Rica to be burnt in front of the palace, and for a short time put Montezuma

in irons, for which there does not appear to have been the slightest excuse. He then, Montezuma consenting, built, by Indian carpenters under one Martin Lopez, a Spaniard, two ships for use on the lake. Also with his assistance they dethrone the king of Tezcuco and raise his brother in his place, and Montezuma calling his chieftains together and relating the tradition of the strangers and that his gods kept silence, they take oath of allegiance to Charles V. They now begin to hunt for gold, sending men to the mines to examine them, and claiming that Montezuma should collect a tribute for Charles V, which he agrees to do, giving them his private treasure—gold, says Diaz, weighing upwards of 600,000 crowns, besides other valuables.

Up to this time they had been wholly successful. Now danger and difficulty began to encircle them. First the cause which was for a time to be their ruin, their will to destroy the wooden idols of the Aztecs, created dangers in Mexico. They persuaded Montezuma very unwillingly to give them leave to put up a cross and celebrate Mass in one of the temples. On this the priests declared that the gods had decided to leave the Mexicans unless Cortes and his men were put to death; this Montezuma tells to Cortes, and they begin to build ships in order to go back.

But another danger awaited them. The enemies of Cortes in Spain procured orders to Velasquez to seize Cortes and his men, and Velasquez fitted out a fleet of nineteen ships under Pamphilo de Narvaez, carrying 1400 soldiers, 20 cannon, 80 horses, and 160 musketeers and crossbowmen. Narvaez wrote to Montezuma, representing the men of Cortes as robbers and outlaws and himself as sent by Charles V to chastise them and to release Montezuma. It was the same foolish tactics which a century and a half later was for a time the ruin of the British East India Company. Narvaez sent envoys to Sandoval at Villa Rica to order his surrender. Sandoval handed the envoys over to the Indians, who, putting them on their backs and travelling by relays, carried them to Cortes at Mexico. Cortes received them with all honour, bribed them heavily

and sent them back again. Through these men, and by letters and by great presents of gold, he worked on the chiefs of Narvaez's army to such effect that they became Cortes's allies.

Leaving now Alvarado with 83 foot, 4 large guns, 24 musketeers and crossbowmen, 7 horses, and luckily a plentiful supply of provisions to hold Mexico, Cortes, with a force of 206 men in all, marched to the coast. The men left behind were those whom they could not trust. In an interview with Montezuma before leaving, Cortes, declining his offer of Indian troops to be used against Narvaez's Spaniards, explained, as affecting the superiority of force, that he and his companions were Castilian, whereas Narvaez was only a Biscayan. Good fortune always waits on bold and determined men. Arrived at the coast, under cover of a heavy storm of rain Cortes and his men made a surprise attack in the night on Narvaez. One party captured the guns and turned them on the gunners, while another party forced their way into the buildings where Narvaez's men were quartered, set the thatch on fire, captured Narvaez, and obtained surrender of the entire force. Cortes now captured the entire fleet and sent small expeditions to explore and make settlements. By his judicious tact he was enabled to use all this new force as his own.

But splendid as the victory was which had been gained, it had a most unfortunate issue for the Spaniards. News from Mexico told of an outbreak by which Alvarado was besieged in his quarters and that seven of his men had been killed. It appeared that from the time of Cortes's departure Alvarado's men had been attacked and left without supplies. Various accounts were given of the cause, according to the side from which they came; but it appeared certain that Alvarado had made a foolish attack upon the Mexicans at the time of a great religious festival in terror of an anticipated attack by them.

Going by way of Tlascala, where two thousand Indian warriors joined them, the Spaniards re-entered Mexico thirteen hundred strong, of whom nearly a hundred were

cavalry and a hundred and forty crossbowmen and musketeers. But any civility and good will had disappeared on both sides. The Mexicans now rose *en masse*. Cortes sent out a detachment of four hundred men, which, after an intense battle with masses of the enemy, was forced to retire with the loss of twenty-three men. The Mexicans then attacked them in their quarters, setting fire to the buildings and giving them no rest day and night from showers of missiles. Another sally with their whole force had no better result. The numbers of the Mexicans were so enormous, and such their courage and determination, that the Spaniards could make no impression upon them with their artillery and fire-arms. On the next day, having constructed four towers each to hold twenty-five men, armoured tanks as it were, they again sallied out, and engaged in a desperate battle. They forced their way to the great temple, where the engagement was so fierce that they lost forty-six men. They made their way desperately up the steps of the building and set it on fire. But they were compelled by sheer weight of numbers to retire to their quarters, which they found nearly occupied by the Aztecs.

The Spaniards spent the night in repairing the walls, burying the dead and dressing their wounds. When day came Cortes sent to Montezuma to ask him to address the people from a high terrace, promising that, if the Aztecs would desist from their attacks, the Spaniards would quit the city. At first he refused to do so, but was at last persuaded. He spoke to them without effect, they shouting to him in answer that their gods had promised them the total destruction of the Spaniards.

While the Aztec mob were shouting they poured on the terrace showers of stones and arrows, from which the Spaniards protected Montezuma with their shields. But when he began to speak in his turn they stood to one side that he might be heard. The showers of stone continued. Three stones and an arrow struck Montezuma, from the effects of which he soon after died. In him the Spaniards lost a good friend, one who had undoubtedly done his best to reconcile the prophecy with the coming of the Christians,

and to moderate the passions roused among the Mexicans by the fury of the Aztec priests.

Now even more furious attacks were made upon them. They made a sally intending to get farther into the city, where the cavalry could act on firm ground. But, though they burnt many houses, they were driven back with the loss of twenty men, the bridges broken and barricades erected.

There follows an exhibition of that highest kind of heroism, the courage of men who will not give way to disaster. Confronted with almost certain death, surrounded with armies of frenzied foes, without hope of assistance, the men of Cortes showed that dogged will to persevere which has so often saved the British in their chequered history against overwhelming disaster. "Then," says Diaz, "as our numbers diminished every day, whilst those of the enemy increased, as also did the fury of their attack, at the same time that we from our wounds were less able to make resistance; our powder being almost exhausted, our provisions and water intercepted, our friend the good Montezuma dead, and our proposals for peace rejected, the bridges by which we were to retreat broken down, and in fine death before our eyes in every direction" (it reads like the fight of the *Revenge* under Grenville), they determined to quit the city during the night.

A portable bridge of very strong timber was constructed to be thrown across the breaks in the causeway where the bridges had been destroyed, and to be taken up and moved on to the next break when they had passed over. It was guarded by a rear guard of 150 Spaniards and 400 Tlascalans. The treasure was then loaded on horses and men, and, as there was more of it than it was safe to carry, the soldiers were told to help themselves. Many loaded themselves with gold bars, to their destruction, as it afterwards turned out.

The night was dark and rainy. As the troops were passing over the portable bridge the alarm was given and they were attacked on all sides. Unfortunately, only one bridge had been made. The weight of the army passing

over it drove it down into the breach, so that it could not be moved, though much time was spent in the effort. The army had to move on, to plunge into the water at the next breach and cross as they could. The gap was soon filled with dead and dying, men, horses, artillery, baggage and treasure. Men were drowning, and many were being carried off in the canoes by the Aztecs for the awful death of sacrifice. Those swimming in the water, trying to reach the causeway, were knocked on the head with clubs as they gained the land. As they came to each bridge some escaped by swimming, some passed over on the dead bodies and baggage. Most of the rear guard were lost. Coming to dry land at Tacuba, they rested for a short time, but, finding that messengers had been sent to call out the people from the surrounding towns to attack them, the remnant who had escaped moved on. Guided by their Tlascalan allies, they went round the north of the lake, still followed by the enemy, with no food except a dead horse and some gourds which they picked up on the roadside.

On the next morning, as they trudge on, carrying the wounded between them on lame horses, suffering fearful distress from hunger and thirst, from wounds, cold and undressed, from sickness, want of sleep, intensity of fatigue, and depression caused by thoughts of their lost companions both men and women, including five Castilian ladies, their outposts come in to tell them that the whole plain in front is covered by an enormous army estimated by Diaz at 100,000 men.[2] Determined to sell their lives dearly the Spaniards formed for battle and advanced to the attack. The Indians, fighting with their usual desperation, killed and wounded many, and the battle, in spite of European valour and discipline, was going against the Spaniards, who were on the point of being overwhelmed, when Cortes, who had ordered the men to strike at the chiefs, noticed a spot where an Indian commander was stationed distinguished by a standard and by arms and head-dress covered with gold. Calling to the mounted leaders following to charge, Cortes dashed into the thick of the crowd and bore down the chief; another seized the standard and killed him.

Then happened what has so often saved Europeans in their battles with Indians. The Indians, looking wholly to their leader, not trained to any sense of personal initiative or responsibility, were helpless when he fell. The huge army melted away, pursued by the Spaniards, who in the victory forgot all their sufferings. By a long and weary march they reached Tlascala.

They had entered Mexico in June to relieve Alvarado with about 1300 Europeans, of whom 97 were cavalry, 80 crossbowmen and 80 musketeers. They arrived at Tlascala numbering 643 men, having lost of their number 870 men and 1200 of their Indian allies, besides all their artillery and fire-arms, and all but 16 of their horses. While their Tlascalan allies remained faithful to them in misfortune, some of Narvaez's men were mutinous and cried out for a return to Cuba. Cortes had no intention of giving up his conquest. So far from giving way to the mutineers, he employed his whole forces in war against tribes who had murdered Spaniards, and in driving off troops which Guatemozin, the new emperor of Mexico, sent against the neighbouring provinces. In these expeditions they found in the temples, hung on the altars of the gods, horseshoes, tanned horse hides, saddles and bridles, and the clothes of Spaniards who had been sacrificed and eaten.

Cortes now employed a Spanish carpenter, Martin Lopez, to build thirteen craft for use on the lake. He received some timely reinforcements during the winter, and on December 28, 1520, the Spaniards again set out for Tezcuco, the ships carried in pieces (knocked down, as the Americans would say) on the shoulders of men, the force now consisting of 600 men, of whom 80 were crossbowmen and musketeers, and with 9 cannon, some powder and a host of Tlascalan auxiliaries. This time they were assisted by another agency which they had introduced into the country along with horses and fire-arms, the smallpox. Unknown to the Indians, who knew nothing as to its treatment, it made fearful ravages among them. But for this, and for civil war between Mexico and Tezcuco, their march to the city would have been

more desperately opposed. As it was, they had trouble enough.

Entering Tezcuco they drove out the reigning prince, who was plotting against them, and, obtaining from their nominee some 7000 or 8000 labourers, they opened a canal by which to launch their ships upon the lake.

While waiting for the ships to be completed, the Spaniards, though very much reduced by death and disease, made expeditions to protect tribes who wished to revolt from the Aztecs, to foment civil dissension, and harass the enemy. In one of these expeditions they found in the temple the skins of the faces of two Spaniards with their beards on them, dressed like leather and hung on the altars. They had several narrow escapes from disaster through the Indians inundating the towns by cutting the causeways. The Tlascalans, now loaded with plunder, return home.

A ship came from Spain with arms and gunpowder, bringing Alderete, the Treasurer for the Crown, the author afterwards of great disaster, and a Franciscan friar who brought with him a number of bulls for sale of absolution from offences. " The reverend father," says Diaz, " made a fortune in a few months and returned to Castile."

They now made a great expedition to Chalco, and thence by Xochimilco to Tacuba, and to Tezcuco, making the entire circuit of the lake and fighting many desperate battles. At Xochimilco they could see from the top of the temple very large bodies of men marching against them on land and some two thousand canoes full of troops coming against them across the lake. On one occasion Cortes's horse fell under him, and he was being dragged off by the enemy, but was rescued by his Indian allies, who fought throughout with desperate bravery.[3]

The brigantines being ready and the canal deepened so as to admit them to the lake, and 8000 shafts for arrows and heads of copper delivered to the Spaniards by the allies, " executed to a degree of perfection which exceeded the pattern," on May 30 the Spaniards invested Mexico. The review showed 84 cavalry, 650 men with sword and

buckler or lance, and 194 musketeers and crossbowmen. Diaz estimates the Indian allies at 70,000. Cortes sent one body of men under Alvarado to Tacuba, another under Olid by the north of the lake to Cuyoacan, and the third under Sandoval (afterwards removed to Tepeaca on the north) to Iztapalapan. Alvarado and Olid cut the aqueduct of Chapultepeque, thus depriving Mexico of fresh water. Cortes, with the fleet upon the lake, engaged with enormous numbers of canoes, and went to the help of the land forces as required. The fleet was divided into three parts, so that each force on the causeways was flanked by ships. The progress was very slow indeed, and accompanied by ambuscades and many casualties. The Spaniards dared not risk the cavalry on the causeways, which were reoccupied on their retirement by the Aztecs. They had no remedies for the wounded except native herbs and berries; by an ambuscade the Aztecs captured two of their ships; as was the case in the German attack on Gough's army in 1918, the great numbers of the enemy enabled them to send fresh forces to relieve their men, while the Spaniards, without any relief, had to fight without rest, except that in the night the guards, relieved for a few hours, slept on their arms. "When we arrived in our quarters at night," says Diaz, "we sat down to our daily misery of maize cakes, herbs and figs, curing our wounds with oil, and remaining all night subject to constant alarms." The men had no barracks and were exposed to the very heavy rains. Cortes, on the lake, had much the same experience.

For ninety-three days they besieged the city, engaging the enemy every day and night. Cortes relied on the want of food and fresh water to drive the Aztecs to a surrender. But Alderete and Alvarado were impatient and persuaded Cortes to order a general assault. It was a great misfortune. The Spaniards made a general advance into the city to gain the great square. It was easy enough to get in, but, surrounded by ever-increasing masses of the enemy, they had to retire. Then followed a fearful disaster. Alvarado's men, in their impetuous advance, have not filled in the gaps behind them. In a narrow part of the causeway,

retreating, pursued by hordes of the enemy, they lost six horses. Cortes himself, seized by chiefs, was saved only at the cost of the lives of his friends. Seventy-two Spaniards were carried off alive for the sacrifice. When at length Alvarado's men have beaten off the enemy, they hear the fearful sound of the great drum and other instruments, and can see in the distance, and recognise, their companions being kicked, beaten, and dragged up the steps of the temple, laid on their backs on the stone used for the purpose and their hearts cut out before their eyes. For some fourteen days the sound of the drum is heard, and the sacrifice of the victims goes on before the gaze of the horrified Spaniards. "When," says Diaz, "I saw the sacrifice of our 72 countrymen and their hearts taken out and offered to the war-god of the Mexicans, I had a sensation of fear."

Nearly all their allies deserted them. But they were saved again by prophecy. Never prophesy unless you are sure. The priests, in their joy, gave out that the gods had certified the destruction of the Spaniards in eight days. So, when the eight days were over, the allies began to come back and the advance began again. Cortes now did what his allies had advised, filling in all the breaks solidly with the material of the houses pulled down as they advanced, the ships scouring the lake to prevent any water or provisions reaching the Mexicans. Attempts at peace with Guatemozin were defeated by the priests. To show the indomitable courage and good sense of the Spaniards, in spite of their losses of men, they sent two expeditions to protect distant tribes whose children the Aztecs were seizing for sacrifice, thus obtaining allies for themselves.

At last by these means the end came. Alvarado's men reached the great square and stormed the war-god's temple, hurling down the images. They destroyed the royal palaces. There was a terrible famine among the Aztecs, the famishing surrounding the Spanish quarters. Guatemozin, after a most fearful carnage, fled in a canoe for the mainland, but was captured. Then the defence ceased. The city fell on August 16, 1521. The mortality had been

frightful; the streets, lake, and canals were full of dead and dying, and the stench was such that on the surrender the army left the city. The women on both sides, European and Indian, had behaved with the most desperate courage. Guatemozin having asked for the people to leave the city, the causeways were full, for three days and nights, of men, women, and children in every stage of sickness and weakness.

I do not propose to dwell upon the events after the fall of the city. Cortes laid out a new city, made expeditions into various parts, and tried in vain to settle the disputes which at once arose over the distribution of land and plunder. But he had filled his own pockets well, and discontent and jealousy multiplied, and he had to contend in the settlement with the greed and intrigue of the politicians at home and the eleventh hour man in Mexico. The distribution of lands and commands gave dissatisfaction all round. The Spaniards began to realise some of the difficulties of the Aztecs in their dealings with the savage tribes in the mountainous districts, who fought among themselves, calling in the Spaniards as allies, and reverting to their savagery as soon as the European hand was withdrawn. And the soldiers sometimes mutinied, refusing to stay in the settlements allotted to them, and trying to kill their officers who had cribbed all the gold and Indian women. The conquerors had to make roads and establish outposts, and to expect sacrifice if captured. The friars, who appear to have been a superior class of men, continued steadily the work of preaching to and baptizing the Indians, and helping in the field.

The happenings after the conquest, as in all such cases, hold examples and lessons of as great, or even of greater, value than the conquest itself. It is after the battle, when the victors are quarrelling over the spoil and posing as the saviours of the world, that we can see, as at the present day, the evils of the anarchy of war. Unfortunately, few details that are trustworthy come down to us of the confusion that follows conquest. All that we can be sure of is that after Mexico fell Cortes had his hands full of

trouble in reconciling the claims of unsatisfied men, and in quelling the rebellions of Indian tribes who were unacquainted with the art of taxation and unused to a steady pressure from an imperial power. Further bodies of adventurers, not always of the best class, flew to share in the carcase and, going through the country plundering, were killed and eaten by the natives, leading to the restoration of "law and order" by the usual means at considerable cost. Though much increased in number, the Spaniards were still too few to keep down the insurrections which arose. They had many desperate encounters with bodies of brave hostile Indians who thoroughly understood the advantages of broken ground as against cavalry, like the Scots of Rob Roy's day.

Besides this work, Cortes showed himself a great organiser. He rebuilt Mexico and other cities and encouraged colonisation, making a regulation that a man not bringing over his wife within eighteen months, or not marrying if a bachelor, should forfeit his estate.

Another of Cortes's difficulties was that his enemy, the bishop of Burgos in Spain, continued manœuvres to be rid of him. Cortes and his captains sent an agent with a letter to Charles V and a quantity of the treasure which remained, though most of what had escaped the *noche triste* of the retreat from Mexico had already become the king's fifth or that of Cortes. The letter gave an account of the conditions, and prayed "that His Majesty would be pleased not to suffer any scholars or men of letters to come into this country to throw us into confusion with their learning and quibbles and books." Unfortunately, this request does not appear to have been regarded, an oversight which led to a great deal of unnecessary litigation and confusion.

Reaching out from Mexico, Cortes sent a force to conquer Guatemala, and sent Olid to Honduras by sea by way of Havana to inquire into the mines and search again for the supposed strait to the Pacific. Olid deserted to Velasquez in Cuba, which led to an expedition by land, commanded by Cortes himself, to Honduras. It took three

years, the Spaniards surmounting incredible hardships from starvation and every variety of difficulty. It is chiefly memorable for the fact that Cortes took with him Guatemozin, and believing some gossiping reports that he was plotting to kill the Spaniards at one of their worst moments, hung him amid general disapproval, the king protesting his innocence. In his later days Cortes made expeditions to the Spice Islands in the Pacific and to California, but without success. He died in 1647, as great proconsuls are apt to die, neglected by the king whom he had served.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE EUROPEANS IN SOUTH AMERICA

Section I. The Conquest of Peru by the Spaniards

The story of the conquest of Peru is far inferior to that of Mexico in striking incident or in the courage shown in battles with overwhelming numbers of well-armed and disciplined foes. But it must be referred to for two reasons: one is the wonderful character of the empire overthrown, the enormous wealth which came at once to the conquerors, the exploration of the Amazon and other rivers which followed, and the splendid self-sacrifice of the friars who gave their lives to the conversion of the heathen; the other, which ought to be of great interest to the Englishman, lies in the dogged persistency shown for years before the conquest by the little band of Spaniards in their quest for treasure.

The Empire of the Incas at the time of the conquest stretched across the Andes to an uncertain distance, and ran north and south from 2° N. lat. to 37° S. The Peruvians proper were the reverse of the Aztecs, apparently a mild and gentle people, worshipping the Sun. Their conception of a future life was rest for the good and work for the wicked. But the Peruvian, like the Mexican, empire had been created by the absorption and conquest of tribes less versed in the arts of life and practising more savage forms of religion. We may take it for granted, I believe, that in each case the condition of the empire at the time of the conquest was an advance on the condition of tribal savagery out of which it had grown. Possibly, if left alone, each might have evolved varied forms of civility equal to our Roman pattern of Western Europe. But the difficulty in all such rule by central authority is that the process is

never finished. The overlord is still encouraged to reach out for fresh conquests of savages, and the empire always contains at the same time peoples who have been incompletely joined with the conquerors and peoples who are still apart half-subdued. If the Afghan, as in the past, again invades India, the British raj will not only have to fight the invaders supported by the half-tamed tribes in the north-west, but by the Moplahs of the south and disaffected elements everywhere.

The empire of the Incas would appear to have fulfilled all the conditions of permanency, except in respect of the perfection of arms of aggression. All the conquered peoples shared with the Peruvians a common religion, common language, and common law. As each outlying tribe was drawn in, the worship of the Sun was insisted upon as the superior faith to the barbarous creeds of the conquered. The chiefs of the conquered tribes were continued in their offices as in Saxon England before Athelstan appointed his nominees in Northumbria, or as in France, before Philip Augustus annexed Normandy from John.

There were a great number of dialects in South America. But the Court tongue was taught throughout the empire, and no one could hold an office who did not know it. The chiefs and their families, when a tribe was subdued, were brought to Cuzco, the capital, to learn the language if it differed from their own. In somewhat the same way James I and VI of Scotland tried the reverse process of forcing on the people of the Hebrides his illiterate broken English in the place of their historical language. (Appendix L.)

There was quick and sharp justice, mostly in criminal matters.

The political form was tribal, the Inca reigning as a supreme overlord over the tribes.

If a modern man wishes to study experiments in a Socialism or Bolshevism in which no man is allowed to get rich at the expense of others, he cannot do better than peruse Peru under the Incas. Everybody worked hard under conditions which must have made the spread of our type of Christian life very difficult. " If a man will not work,

neither shall he eat." There was a register of births and deaths kept at Cuzco. By this means, and by a survey taken at intervals, the work was distributed among the different provinces. In all matters of distribution of labour, food, and clothing, in the opinion of the Spaniards, the Peruvian system was far superior to that of any European people. It was impossible, in the judgment of a high Spanish authority,[1] to improve on the system of distribution, so carefully was it accommodated to the condition and comfort of the artizan. Famine, at that time so common in Europe, was under the Incas unknown. Great granaries were established in various places to provide convenience of distribution. These magazines were found by the Spaniards filled with all variety of things of use or luxury.

The lands were divided into three parts, one for the Sun, another for the Inca, and the third for the people. Those of the Inca, as usual in all tribal societies, supported his kinsmen, who lived at the public expense and divided the offices.

The lands of the people were, as usual, divided *per capita*, a fresh division being made every year. As every young Indian married at a certain fixed age, a portion of land was assigned to him. The amount given, which varied with his family, was as much as could be planted with 1½ cwts. of Indian corn. The possessor could not alienate his patch during the year, and the property of a dead man did not pass to his successor. On a conquest of new territory a census and survey was made, and division was made as in the Inca territory. Their agriculture was superior to that of their conquerors until checked by the conquest. They were well acquainted with and careful of guano and manures of all kinds. The last survivor of the first Spanish conquerors in his will declared that the whole population under the Incas was distinguished by sobriety and industry; that such things as robbery and theft were unknown; that far from licentiousness, there was not a prostitute in the whole country, and that everything was conducted in the greatest order, and entire submission to authority.[2]

The most remarkable feature of this unique empire was

the stupendous works of engineering. As with Mexico and Guiana, the land slopes up from the coast to the mountains; in Peru the slope is very steep indeed, and the tract between the coast and the Andes is very narrow and subject to drought. But the Indian by sheer genius overcame the drought of the coast region by a network of canals and aqueducts; he terraced the steep sides of the mountains and grew on them every variety of product; and he pastured on them great breeding flocks of llamas for the Sun and the Inca. At the due season the wool was sheared by the officers of the Inca, and given out to be worked into cloth by the women for their families.

The country was covered with splendid roads, terraced so as to prevent washing along the hill sides, along which dispatches were carried by runners, and the deep valleys were bridged by magnificent viaducts and by rope bridges made of canes twisted as thick as a man's thigh. The extraordinary buildings of stone were worked without iron, the stones, often of enormous size, were filled without mortar with joints absolutely close and perfect. The conquerors neglected the breeding of the llamas and let the roads and aqueducts fall into decay until they came to the condition of the Roman roads in mediaeval England.

But all these things were little or nothing to the Spaniard who found Peru. They sought gold, and in Peru they found it in immense quantities. It was not used for coin, but for making utensils and ornaments. Great as had been the wealth found by Cortes in Mexico, it was a mere nothing to the stores of the precious metals which awaited the invaders of Peru. The mines, which all belonged to the Inca, were being worked for his benefit, and there were immense stores of the gold and silver accumulated in the temples and other buildings. Every other thing was forgotten in the desire for this wealth, for it was real gold, not the black rocks which tempted Elizabeth and Frobisher's men in the Arctic voyages.

The account of the conquest will be very short. To go back a little, after Vasco Nuñez de Balboa had discovered the Pacific from Darien, Panama had been built.

From thence the settlers explored the coast northward until checked by Cortes's men in Honduras. Then they turned their attention to the south. One, Francisco Pizarro, who had taken part in various expeditions, was living in the train of the Governor of Panama. He arranged with two others, Diego d'Almagro and Hernando de Luque, who provided the money, to make an exploring venture to the south.

In November 1524 he set out with a little over a hundred men. Almagro was to follow in another ship. Landing and exploring as they went, they reached at the end of seventy days, during which thirty-two men died, a place which they called Porto de la Hambre (Port Famine). The results were so little that they were obliged to send back the ship with half the crew to the Isla des Perlas in St. Miguel's Bay to get provisions. It was absent forty-seven days.[3]

Both parties suffered terribly. Those in the ship fought rough seas and contrary winds and hunger, while those who waited fed on sea weed and some bitter palm fruits and ate a tanned cowhide used to cover the pump. They had a fight with warlike natives at a palisaded town in which they were defeated, losing five killed and seventeen wounded. When twenty more men had died they returned to Panama. It says volumes for the spirit of reckless adventure that animated these men that those who returned were anxious to try again. The Governor was strongly opposed to this waste of life, and it cost all the influence of De Luque, backed by 1000 pesos d'oro, to obtain permission to go again and to recruit men. This was settled in writing in March 1526. They set out with about 120 of the original venturers (about 130 had died) and 110 new recruits. With these forces they cruised for a long time along an uninhabited swamp country against contrary winds, during which time, says Xeres, the secretary of Pizarro, who later wrote an account of the conquest, "the greater part of the crews died of hunger." Their voyage along the coast and their attempts at exploration of the interior form one long dreary story of terrible suffering from insects, wild creatures, malaria, and other diseases, hostile savages and incessant famine.

Unable to make head against contrary winds, they

sheltered in the Island of Gallo and sent to Panama for more men. The ship took letters from some who were so disheartened that they wanted to go back, whereupon the Governor sent a ship with a few men to bring back all who wished to leave, with orders to Pizarro to return and report within six months. The story told by Xeres is that Pizarro drew his sword and made a long line on the ground with the point. "Gentlemen," he said, "this line signifies labour, hunger, thirst, fatigue, wounds, sickness, and every other kind of danger that can be encountered in this conquest until life is ended. Let those who have the courage to meet and overcome the dangers of this heroic achievement cross the line in token of their resolution and as a testimony that they will be my faithful companions; and let those who feel unworthy of such daring return to Panama." Sixteen men [4] crossed the line.

They had seen signs of wealth and of a far higher civility; Ruiz the pilot, cruising in one of the ships, had met a native balsa, or raft ship, which had on it natives from Tumbez, who wore gold ornaments and very fine woollen cloth. They now sailed a hundred leagues to the south, exploring, trading, and plundering, as far as lat. 9° S. They anchored off Tumbez and, chaffering with the natives, sent a negro on shore with a Spaniard. The Indians, who had never seen a negro, tried to rub off the black. Then they returned to Panama on the last day of the six months. But as, in spite of their plunder, their funds were exhausted, they raised credits to send Pizarro to Spain with samples of gold and llamas and natives, to obtain from the Court a grant of the lands to be discovered. Pizarro reached Spain early in 1528. In July 1529 Joanna made him a grant of all the lands to be discovered for two hundred leagues south of Tumbez.

Pizarro started once more from Panama with a small force in three ships with which he sailed to St. Matthew's Bay, where he landed, and marched thence along the coast to the Island of Puna, or Santiago, in the Gulf of Guayaquil, where they remained for the winter. They had no very quiet time, as war was going on between the islanders and the natives of the mainland. The Dominican friars marched

with the army, and kept in view the conversion of the Indians, instructing the people as they went in the Christian faith. But the same fate awaited all Europeans in any part of the world in those days. On their first voyages they had been for the most part received with generosity and kindness. Now the natives fled at their approach.

In May 1532, after eight years of hardship and failure, the campaign of conquest begins. They moved to a point on the river Chira (4.6 S., 81.8 W), where they made their headquarters. Here they were in a fertile country with good roads, and were well supplied by the natives with provisions.

When Pizarro set out from the river Chira to conquer this mighty empire he had in all 177 men, of whom only 3 were arquebusiers, 20 crossbowmen, and 62 horsemen, and some cannon. I do not think that Xeres, the secretary of Pizarro, who in later years gave an account of the conquest, exaggerated greatly when he wrote: "For when either in ancient or modern times have such great exploits been achieved by so few against so many; over so many climes, across so many seas, over such distance by land, to subdue the unknown? What deeds can be compared with those of Spain? For our Spaniards being few in number, never having more than two or three hundred men together, and sometimes only a hundred or even fewer, and those who have come at different times being neither paid nor pressed but serving at their own free wills and at their own costs, have in our times conquered more territory than has ever been known before."

As in Mexico, the conquest is made easier by civil war. The last Inca, after increasing his territory to the south, had carried his arms north and conquered Quito. Taking as a secondary wife the daughter of the king, he had by her a son called Atahualpa. This man had lately revolted from the reigning Inca, who was the son of the late Inca's chief and lawful wife, and had totally defeated and taken him prisoner. He was now resting after his victories with an army of some 30,000 men in a plain a short distance from Caxamalca.

Hearing a report that a large force was lying in wait for him at a town called Caxas to the east of the Andes, Pizarro

sent a small force to find out the truth. Crossing the Andes the cold was so great that the horses were frost-bitten; "on the plains of Castile it is not colder than on these heights which are clear of trees." The captain reports that the people are quiet and orderly. They meet no enemies. He is enthusiastic over the broad, well-paved roads, shaded with trees, the channels of drinking water, rest-houses and customs stations. Of the walls of a fortress he says: "If the people had had the artists and tools of Spain, the surrounding wall could not have been better built."

A messenger arrived from Atahualpa, who had heard of the arrival of the white men, bringing presents of beautifully worked cloth embroidered with beaten gold. Then Pizarro set out for Caxamalca, and on November 15, 1532, the Spaniards entered and occupied the central square, "a plaza larger than any in Spain," surrounded by a wall and entered by two doorways. Here Pizarro quartered his men out of sight in the buildings, horse, foot, and guns separately, ready to assemble in the square at a given signal.

After negotiation with the Spaniards, of whom some went on a mission to his great army in the camp, Atahualpa paid a visit to the white men, no doubt in perfect good faith, relying on the presence of his enormous force. He was accompanied by a large retinue, wholly unarmed except for a few darts and slings under their tunics.

On what followed one does not care to linger. I have dwelt upon the long years of patient perseverance under great suffering which preceded the conquest, because it is this patience, this determination to succeed, this will to overcome supreme difficulty which is the quality to study and to copy rather than the mere act of conquest. For although our histories written in the Charles Kingsley school have always represented the Spanish conquerors as inordinately treacherous and cruel, their conduct towards the natives in no way differed from that of all other Europeans of the time and of later times. Speaking of this and other later acts, Prescott very truly remarks: "The tale of such atrocities is not confined to the Spaniards. Wherever the civilized man and the savage" (and the Peruvian was no savage)

"have come in contact in the East or in the West, the story has too often been written in blood." He might have added that cruelty almost always results from fear. At any rate it is closely connected with it, whether it is the treachery and cruelty of Pizarro or the more modern examples of the twentieth century.

Not only were the followers of Cortes, as Diaz tells us, for the most part men of noble birth, and the priests who accompanied his army, such as Father Olmedo, gentlemen, tactful and counselling moderation and fair dealing, but he himself was a leader with immense personal influence, generally for good. The little army of Pizarro seems to have been composed greatly of men of a lower caste, and some at least of his priests lacked tact and self-restraint. Nor does Pizarro appear to have possessed the same striking personal superiority over all other leaders which gave such super-eminence to Cortes. In all these early adventures for gold or conquest, as in the later efforts at colonial settlement, the personal impress of the leader is the vital principle which dominates the issue.

While Pizarro's men lay waiting in their different buildings, a Dominican friar was sent to Atahualpa as ambassador. He, speaking through an interpreter, which was always a cause of misunderstanding leading to friction, began to unfold to him the Christian faith, and presented him with a Bible (one account says a breviary). Atahualpa threw away the book or let it drop, whereupon the friar in a fury went back and incited the Spaniards to attack the infidel. At the signal given they came out from the buildings and began a massacre of the Indians. Two thousand were killed in the square. Speaking of this massacre, Hernando Pizarro, the brother of Francisco, says: "The Indians were all unarmed. They were defeated without danger to any Christians." Atahualpa was in a litter on the shoulders of a number of chiefs, his kinsmen. The litter was overthrown, they were all killed, and he was dragged out and carried off as prisoner. The spoil was immense of gold, silver, cloth, emeralds, and other valuables. The capture of the Inca ended all resistance by his people. The great army

made no effort at rescue, and he himself discouraged it. When later Hernando Pizarro set out to Pachacamac, the Indians furnished him with food and bearers.

Atahualpa offered an enormous ransom in gold and silver, and the offer being accepted, he sent out to collect it. It was an immense spoil. One lot was more than 300 loads of gold and silver in jars and vases, another 157 loads of gold and 7 of silver.[5] But, brought from great distances, it came all too slowly to satisfy the avidity of the conquerors. Pizarro now heard of ships and men under Almagro coming to his assistance from Panama and Nicaragua. Hernando Pizarro was sent with a few men to fetch gold from the great temple of Pachacamac, a noted shrine of a primitive deity and place of pilgrimage. They went into the great temple; to the horror of the people they broke in pieces the wooden idol; and they informed them of the Cross and of the Catholic faith. Going back, they crossed the Andes, passing by Lake Titicaca at 12,600 feet, meeting Chilicuchima, Atahualpa's kinsman and chief general, coming with more gold. Pizarro then sent envoys to Cuzco to report and bring back gold. Unfortunately, the men selected were of a low class and behaved abominably, assaulting the women and insulting the temples. Then the gold and silver was partitioned, the king's fifth being 786,600 ducats of gold and 126,900 of silver. The whole was estimated[6] as equal to about three and a half millions of our money.

Meanwhile Huascar, the legitimate Inca, made overtures to Pizarro from his prison, offering him still greater treasures; and Pizarro was very willing to judge between the brothers. But Atahualpa sent orders to kill Huascar, and it was done. Then the terror which leads to cruelty again gets possession of the little army of Spaniards. On the information of stray Indians a tale is procured of great armies marching to attack them, and they strangle Atahualpa in the great square. Twelve honourable men recorded their protest against this detestable murder. "Their names," says Xeres, truly, "are more worthy of remembrance than those of the thirteen who crossed the line in the island of Gallo."

One of them was Hernando de Soto, the great explorer of Florida and the Mississippi basin. Pizarro laid the blame of the infamy on Valverde the monk and Riquelme the royal treasurer, and they retorted on him. Then they went to Cuzco, where, says one of them, " the delicacy of the stone-work far exceeded that of the Spaniards."

I do not propose to carry on the story farther. More murders, more battles, quarrels, and wars between the various captains and adventurers, and the murder of Francisco Pizarro, are the sequel. Anarchy in Peru followed the death of Atahualpa, and the conquerors had to fight Manco, Huascar's brother, and other Indian leaders who escaped from destruction. Though it is very illuminating of the after effects of war and revolution, I have no space to dwell upon the civil wars which ensued.

Section II. The Exploration and Missions of the Amazon

Two results of the conquest of a great empire by a few hundreds of Europeans were valuable and lasting. The settlement of the country and the civil wars which followed, in which the defeated fled to the mountains, led to the exploration of the country beyond the Andes and to the discovery of the great rivers. In the vast trackless mountains the explorers endured terrible sufferings, lucky if they escaped with their lives.[7]

To speak of one expedition only. In 1539 Gonzalo Pizarro set out to conquer Cinnamon Land (lat. 1° S., long. 76° W.) with 340 Spaniards and 4000 Indians to carry supplies, a flock of llamas for the baggage, and driving 4000 head of swine. Crossing the Cordilleras, they left swine and baggage behind, not knowing that the country to which they were coming was uninhabited. Gonzalo, if the Indians who were his guides did not tell him what he wished to hear, tortured them so that they told lies, to his destruction. To cross the many great rivers, they built a boat, into which they put all their valuables. Starving in the forests, and hearing of a cultivated country lower down,

they sent one Orellana with men—two thousand had died already, and some died every day—to get food and bring it back. Orellana deserted with the boat, followed the whole course of the Amazon to the sea, and set out for Spain. Gonzalo and his men tried to get back to Peru, cutting a road through the endless forest. Many perished from hunger. They ate the horses and dogs, and even the bodies of the dead men. Their clothes rotted with the wet, so that when they reached Quito they were naked except for leaves.

Then the hunt for Eldorado begins. Every unexplored forest is the avenue to a great empire full of gold. If there are Mexico and Peru, there must be others. The wildest stories are circulated both by Indian and European. In 1541 a German, Felipe de Uttre, went from Venezuela in search of this wonderful empire. He came back with a story of a great city belonging to the tribe of the Omaguas, which he placed upon the map upon the Napo and Maranon rivers somewhere about 4° S. by 73° W. In 1560 Pedro de Ursua was sent from Peru to look for this wonderful city among the absolutely wild and savage tribes east of the Andes, who had never been reduced to civility by the Incas. He was killed with his officers by some pirates who were with him. And so the search goes on until Raleigh sets out on his expedition.

Meanwhile the Jesuits, taking their lives in their hands, went out to convert to Christ the savage tribes of the upper Amazon, risking the very common fate of murder at the hands of their converts. In 1638 the Jesuit missions of the Maranon were begun. For centuries they continued the work of civilising the heathen and protecting him from the European. With such fearlessness and with so great success did they do this work through the centuries, that when in 1913 the horrible atrocities committed on the Indians by the servants of the rubber company at Putumayo forced the British politicians to take action, the men sent out from England to the Indians were Roman Catholic friars. They went at once, and went willingly. Deny it and dislike it as we may, nine-tenths of the Christian

missionary work to the heathen outside of Europe has been done by the fearless missionaries of the Roman Church, as ready now, as when Spenser in Ireland in Elizabeth's day regretfully lamented it, to give their lives for their faith.[8]

The problem of the treatment of the Indians was from the first a very difficult one for the European. The conquerors fought; their European successors in the tropical or semi-tropical latitudes, whether Spaniard, Portuguese, French, Dutch or English, would not try to work. They must have serfs or slaves to work for them. The Spanish conquerors, and after them all the Europeans in turn, made the Indians their serfs, Pizarro and his successors making assignments of them with the lands granted to their followers, in spite of the earnest protest of the men who saw the eventual degradation of both races. Las Casas, in the middle of the century, protested most passionately against their enslavement; Charles V in 1543 issued a code to regulate the relations of the two races, and the Regent Ximenes, on the representation of Las Casas, sent a commission to inquire into the matter. But all in vain. Necessity was too strong for the efforts of the noble, priest, and distant imperial authority combined. The commission decided that the Indian must be made to appreciate "the dignity of labour," and that, as he would not willingly do this for his conqueror, he must do it as a slave.

The evil continued; the enmity of the Indian was directed against his first foe until he learnt that in this respect all Europeans were alike. Later the failure to make the Indian work to satisfaction as a slave amid the ruins of his own magnificent civility led to the wholesale import of African negro slaves. The depth was reached when England in 1713, by agreement with Spain, obtained a monopoly of this supply of African black ivory to the Spanish colonies.[9]

Section III. Raleigh and El Dorado

The story of the conquest of Mexico and Peru makes it easier to see in due perspective the expeditions of Raleigh

to Guiana. Peru and Chili to the south, and Mexico and the lands of the Isthmus farther north, were occupied by Spain, and Brazil by Portugal.[10] The only part of the southern continent which had not been definitely earmarked for conquest by the European Powers was the tract east of Venezuela now called Guiana. This tract and its hinterland was the scene of Raleigh's search for treasure and empire. The story is soon told. So marvellous, so strange beyond all expectations, had been the wonders of discovery in all parts of the earth since Prince Henry's captains had first set out from Sagres, so enormous the genuine yield of gold and silver to Spain from Mexico and Peru, that it would have been hard for the romancer in search of followers for a voyage of adventure to tell any tale, however improbable, which could not be believed. As Raleigh very truly said of the imaginations with which he encouraged his men, "Now, though these reports may seem strange, yet if we consider the many millions which are daily brought out of Peru into Spain, we may easily believe the same," especially if you want to believe it. Drake, in his roving expeditions, had taken Spaniards prisoners. They were not likely to have told him anything true, or anything which might be hurtful to their nation; but as patriotic men, in answer to the eager inquiries of these Englishmen as to gold and silver, the Spaniards (treacherously, as the English historian would say) fancied a tall story of a great empire of Guiana, provided with a great city like Cuzco, full of gold and silver, seated like Mexico on a lake—a lake as big as the Caspian, and so placed that its discovery would need a long and dangerous journey such as would occupy these troublesome English pirates, or such of them as survived, for a long time.

This empire of Guiana, its ropes and billets of gold and tiles of silver, its cloud-capped towers and gorgeous palaces, its immense wealth, its laws and government, its Amazons who cast lot for their valentines, seen by the poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling, Raleigh set out to find. In 1594 he sent in advance a buccaneer, one Jacob Whiddon, to gain news of the way to the great empire. In 1595 he set

out for its discovery and conquest with five ships and one hundred men. He went to Trinidad, where he found friendly Spanish colonists and Indians willing to trade with him. But because eight of Jacob Whiddon's men had been killed while on a hunting party, Raleigh, on the invitation of the Indians and because he wanted to know more about Guiana, "taking a time of most advantage," set upon his hosts, the Spanish colonists, and took and, "with the assistance of the Indians," set their city on fire. He made close inquiry about Guiana from one of his prisoners, a Spaniard named Berreo, "a gentleman well descended, very valiant and liberal and of great assuredness and of a great heart." From him he learns that the famous empire was 600 miles farther from the sea than he had been formerly told. He kept this new knowledge secret from his men, "who else would never have been brought to attempt the same."

It is hardly likely that Berreo told Raleigh anything of value. But one truth the Englishman may have learnt from the Spaniard, that he must expect in the course of his expeditions mutinies and murders. When you consider the kind of gaol-bird who went on these adventures, this is not surprising. The adventurers of the later Elizabethan time in the tropics seem to have been a very rough crew who came with no view to anything but casual plunder, comprising very few men of the class of Berreo or Hernando de Soto or Bernal Diaz. Says Hakluyt: "Our prisons are pestered and filled with able men to serve their country, which for small robberies are daily hanged up in great numbers, even twenty at a clap out of one gaol." He suggests them as colonists for America. They went.

Raleigh's force seems partly to have been of this class, men not of necessity evil, but uncontrolled and desperate. His hundred men, he says, were composed of "gentlemen, soldiers, rowers, boat keepers, boys, and of all sorts." Yet the poor wretches were not much better off in Guiana. They left their ships and went up in open boats against the stream, the hundred men and their food for a month, "being all driven to lie in the open air, in the burning sun, and upon

the hard boards, and to dress our meat and carry all manner of furniture in them. Wherewith they were so pestered and unsavoury that what with victuals being mostly fish, and the wet clothes of so many men thrust together, and the heat of the sun, I will undertake that there was never any prison in England that could be found to be more unsavoury and loathsome." It was but a little discomfort compared with the appalling sufferings endured by the men of Cortes and Pizarro in their conquests, or the awful march to Honduras, but the suffering assuredly came more hardly to northern men who were unaccustomed to heat and to the tropical sunlight. And it is well to keep in mind that in these ventures, whether of Cortes, Pizarro, or Raleigh, the leaders shared fully in all the sufferings and dangers of the common men. They are really leaders, too often left, if they escaped death in their ventures, to die on the scaffold or in neglect and obscurity in their old age.

It was necessary to hurry with the expedition. The French were exploring the adjoining country. "It was told me," says Raleigh, "ere I departed from England that Villiers the Admiral was in preparation for the planting of Amazons, to which river the French have made divers voyages and returned with much gold and other rarities."

Raleigh discovered no empire among the wild tribes east of the Andes. He does not appear to have reached any part not already explored by the Spaniards and found not worth settling. If it had been there, no doubt he and his little band would have made a splendid conquest. In these early enterprises the failures are as pathetic as the conquests. The tribes with whom he meets appear to have been surlily friendly, supplying him with provisions. One of his men, a negro, is taken by an alligator. Otherwise there is nothing to report of his journey. A second expedition in 1596 under Captain Keymis was equally unsuccessful. But he continues to believe in the city of the Omaguas, and to say of his imagination that "whatsoever prince shall possess it, that prince shall be lord of more gold and of a more beautiful empire and of more cities and people than either the King of Spain or the Great Turk";

and Wilbye sang sweetly of "the Lady Oriana, dight with all the jewels of Guiana, and on her Grace a thousand Graces tended"; and her Grace, having the imagination necessary for those who would do or encourage others to do great things, and a love for courage, and possibly the saving sense of humour, acquiesced in and applauded the adventure. But when the Scot James, the Sun in his strength, succeeded the bright Occidental Star, being like Audrey not poetical, he disapproved such expeditions when they turned out to be unsuccessful. So he lied to Raleigh, as Raleigh found out to his cost. The story ends in one of the last paragraphs penned by Raleigh in his "History of the World," written in prison before his execution by the king. "I have seen, says Solomon, all things that are under the sun, and all is vanity and vexation of spirit. But who believes it until Death tells it us?"

After this, both Dutch, French, and English came to trade; the Spaniard, having more territory on his hands than he could manage, and the Spanish colonist welcoming the trade, did not drive them out. No attempt was made at settlement until 1604, when Leigh took forty-six men and boys to the Oyapok, and founded the first British colony in South America in what is now French territory. The provisions were soon exhausted, and the colony was taken off by a kindly Dutch trader. English, French, and Dutch tried in turn to form settlements, one failure succeeding another.

Guiana is one of the most instructive of all our imperial efforts, whether as an illustration of the difficulties met in trade or of labour or of war or colonial settlement. It is full of incidents showing the causes of failure through want of heart, or want of means, or sheer ignorance, the territorial changes through wars, the dangers from pirates, the revolutions caused by bush negroes, the mischief resulting from distant European government, a long succession of experiments in tropical labour—in fact, an epitome of empire and trade.

CHAPTER XIX

THE INVASION AND PERMANENT OCCUPATION OF TROPICAL REGIONS

Section I. The Moral Aspect

It would be foolish indeed, as well as unjust, to shape any indictment against the aggressive outpouring of the European on the ground that he explored, and in part occupied, regions inhabited only by a migratory people in a low state of civil life, regions in which man, whether savage or civil, hardly holds his own against nature by most strenuous unceasing effort. This would apply not only to the Arctic zone, but to all that thinly peopled country in North America north of 30° of latitude, now occupied by Europeans and negroes. But when we consider the invasion of warmer climates, where a hot sun and a fertile soil supports a dense population, where the resultant ease of life encourages the growth of arts and sciences, a double question inevitably arises: first, how far can we justify to our moral sense such invasion and conquest, and, secondly, how far is our possession likely to be permanent or of advantage to the conqueror?

To the first question there is, I believe, no answer, except that such emigration is an elementary instinct, which can no more be expunged from man's nature than the use of stimulants can be abolished by prohibitory legislation. It is quite true that the instinct may be influenced for evil or for good by those responsible for the regulation of the outpouring. It may be encouraged to cruelty and robbery by cant about the white man's burden, our duty towards the backward races, and other excuses for exploiting peoples politically weaker. Or it may be made beneficial to both

invader and invaded by teaching the stronger race to rely on their own higher ideals and higher civility for success as ruler, and the weaker to respond to the advantages of such rule.

The control of the instinct has at all times been a matter of the greatest difficulty both at home and abroad, no less so at the present day than in the sixteenth century. Our increased speed of transport and the linking up of the distant parts of the earth by steam and telegraph has been offset by the reduced sense of isolation, and therefore of personal or national responsibility, which this has created.

In all times and from all nations, whatever may be the overt cause of the adventure—whether religious motives coupled with desire for legitimate gain, or trade, the desire to seize lands occupied by, or allotted to, other Europeans, or settlement—a great proportion of those who follow the leader will be men who find it difficult to live in peace in European society, pickers up of unconsidered trifles of the kind who will steal a megaphone, carry it thirty miles, and sell it for three-halfpence. The character and the influence of the leaders have a great deal to do with the eventual conduct of such men. But with regard to the misuse of the instinct there has been, and still is, I believe, little to choose between the Christian nations. The Portuguese and Spaniards, leading the way in adventure by a century, at a time when the risks taken were very much greater and the men more rude and brutal, *may* have acted more savagely than those who, coming later to attack these first adventurers, were compelled to be more careful in their treatment of Indians whom they employed as allies. But I doubt it: in the East Indies the conduct of the Dutch to the Malays was one of extreme cruelty:[1] in the West the Protestant nations, in the place of conversion of the natives, practised extermination. The northern traders and raiders joined the Moslem or pagan against the Christian.[2] To them the Catholic of Spain or Portugal was as Diana Vernon to the Anglo-Saxon Andrew Fairservice: "Weel I wot, they might ca' her Diana of the Ephasians, for she's

little better than a heathen—better? she's waur—a Roman, a mere Roman."

With respect to permanence of such conquests, while naval Powers such as Portugal and Holland only hold empire so long as they have command of the sea, for military conquerors of tropical countries who always come from a more equable climate permanence of occupation can be obtained in the long run only by one of two modes. The evil of empire in tropical and semi-tropical regions has been in the past that the race adopting it has inevitably exhausted its energies in the effort to retain by arms its supremacy as a ruling race. Either it must pour out its bravest and most adventurous men on the country, to the certain final exhaustion of the race, or it must ally itself with the body of the people invaded, an alliance which can only become a reality if the blood of the two peoples is mingled by intermarriage. This generally means in hot climates a resultant race which will neglect the arts of war, whether of arms or of commerce, preferring the artistic luxury and ease to which tropical fertility encourages it rather than the severity of toil required from those who live in higher altitudes. To this admixture of blood, if and where it is beneficial, there are serious obstacles to be overcome. The subject is of sufficient importance to deserve some consideration of historical detail.

Section II. The Communal Society

Tacitus tells a story of the rising of the Britons against Rome in the time of Nero under Boadicea, as the result of the king of the Iceni having made a will leaving the emperor co-heir with his daughters. But, says the Roman, on the death of the king his whole property was seized by the Roman officials, his widow Boadicea scourged, and his daughters abused. Probably Tacitus was confused as to the facts; the irrevocable will was a Roman institution only, pointing to individual ownership and made in healthy publicity, and it is extremely unlikely that any such

document should have been made by the chief of a British tribe. But the story is of great interest, for it is our first introduction to the two strongly opposed methods of social living, the two kinds of social framework which always struggle for the mastery throughout the ages, as persistently to-day all over the world as when the customs of the Iceni were in conflict with the legal system of federal Rome. The danger of mishandling the problems caused by their conflict is one of the gravest dangers attending our imperial administration.

The structure of all ancient society, so far as we know, outside of the Roman Empire as it stood in the time of Nero, was, without any exception, of a form resting on the primitive social instincts of humanity, what I would call communal, a social structure in which three-fourths of the world are living to-day, an elemental form to which there appears to-day to be a tendency to revert not only in Russia, but in many countries which shrink from the financial methods of Western Europe and America. (Appendix M.) It is a form leaning to local self-government, a social framework which concerns itself politically with freedom from alien and imperial rule, accepting no authority from outside, except by way of military combination for occasional warfare, and refusing the ownership of land to any person, whether native or alien. Such a society is expressed by the words which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of a British prince in "Cymbeline": "Britain is a world in itself, and we will nothing pay for wearing our own noses." No doubt the Protestant part of the Elizabethan pit warmly applauded the anti-Roman sentiment as it applied to the claims of the Papal Empire.

To use a common not strictly accurate phrase, such a society was and is "tribal": that is to say, it refers back to the family, not the individual, as a unit; to the family not merely of parents and children, but the family in its larger sense, consisting of all members to the third and fourth generation related or supposed to be related by blood or adoption. No doubt, as the society grows larger, as trade breaks in upon its isolation, the tie of kinship tends

to become mythical. But if kinship was a myth, it was a healthy myth, beneficial to growing society.

The rules by which it was governed were unchanging, made in the first instance by the society itself, and altered only by the consent of the whole people. Legislation there was none, unless the society as a whole amended some unchanged custom, or a priest-lawyer class arose who made new law by construing and interpreting the old. This system was and is essentially a democratic institution, just as the Roman model, whether of Nero, Justinian, or Edward I, was and is autocratic.

All social affairs, the admission of youth to the rights of freemen, marriage, descent, the use of land, the acquisition of property, adoption, penalties for wrong-doing, the disposal of the common wealth, the care of the aged poor, the observance of religious duties, the obligations arising from contracts, were all dealt with only by the society itself.

This form of living presupposes common *usage* of land and of all means of livelihood, the *ownership*, even where the use has been granted to an individual, remaining in the community at large. There is no landlord class until such a class arises through conquest or famine. Social questions are handled on the basis of kinship, real or supposed.

The key to the position of the king of the Iceni lay in the ownership of the land resting not in him, but in the society itself, except where, as a large exception, it had been granted for special services or by way of reward for improvement (as where the Irish Brehon says, " by right of urine or manure he shall possess the land ") to an individual or to a family for a certain term of user. Land in use for tillage was portioned out by the year or for a set term to families in such mode that every family should have a fair share ; and at periods or at deaths the whole of the land so in use was apportioned to meet increase or decrease of population. The waste land or forest, on which practically all social change of the community hinges, was common to the cattle of the whole community, superintended by the chief as manager for all.

In such society, while trade was negligible, tillage was servile from the severe conditions of life accompanying it. The only occupation for the freeman was either fighting or hunting or trading cattle. The community did not raise corn beyond what was necessary for its subsistence. Except for that and pasture and timber and herbs for medicine, land had no value. It provided employment for slaves and cattle only. It is through the trading of cattle that commerce begins.

The chief or king (like our king to-day in theory) was the administrator of the whole property of the tribe, and its responsible officer. But he was no absolute ruler. To take another illustration from Rome. Ambiorix, the chief of the Eburones, a kindred people, according to Cæsar, to the Gauls and Britons, apologises to him for attacking the Romans on the ground that his government was of such a nature that the people had as much authority over him as he over the people, and that what he had done was by their compulsion (Cæsar, "D.B.G.," V, xxvi, xxvii). Nor had he, more than the tribesmen, any ownership of land or any right of alienation.

Here comes in the interest of this strange story of Tacitus. The king had the user only of his share of the land like all the others, no doubt a much larger share than the others, constantly increasing as he became more wealthy in slaves and cattle. But at best he was only *primus inter pares*. Apart from the land reserved to the chief for his life and from land that had been given to him or to his family for services to the State or for other causes, he had only the temporary user, and could not alienate it from the community. For more than another thousand years the interest in land in Western Europe was limited by the life or for a term less than a life, as it still is in some of our Asiatic possessions. The individual, whether king or common freeman, had no more power to will it or to alienate it by gift or sale from his society than had the Bengali zemindar the right to give away the land of the Indian village from which he collected the imperial taxes until he was legislated into the position of absolute owner by the

British, or the African chiefs who were defrauded by Peters and Lugard into giving up the pasturage of their tribes.

The proposal by the Russian Soviet to revert to-day, after less than a hundred years' experience of the other form, to certain features of this ancient structure, such as land nationalisation, is meeting with violent opposition from the Western financiers who live in the contrasting system of Western Europe and cannot imagine any other system as possible.

Outside Western Europe the supremacy of the interests of the individual called for by commerce and advanced agriculture did not exist. So when the Europeans spread out all over the world, whether to Russia, or Asia Minor, or the Arctic west, or the North American continent, or to the Indies, East and West, they find communities living in some phase of the communal society, primitive or advanced, according to climate and geographical conditions. We shall find them in Mexico and Peru, as we shall find in India conditions pointing to tribal life, but modified according to the character of their advanced civility. This was, both in Mexico and Peru, of a very high order indeed. (See the account given in Prescott's "Conquest," bk. 1, ch. 2, p. 35, note 25, edit. 1843.)

It is a notable fact, then, which faces us at the outset of all dealings with empires and external States that this communal society governed by the local chief, the extremist example of Home Rule, the chief being only *primus inter pares*, is the system of living over the whole world to-day outside of Europe. The only exception is where the Europeans west of Russia and the Balkan States, and their offshoots and colonies, such as the United States or Australia (large spaces of earth, no doubt, but for the most part with scanty population), have developed a social state in which the interests of the individual assume a superiority over or equality with the interests of the society. Even here there is a perpetual revolt against the undue accumulation of rights over property by one man at the expense, it is supposed, of the advantage to the society. Elsewhere throughout the entire world the family or clan forms the

basis of all society, whether in Asia, Africa, or South America, or even in Russia and the Balkans.

To quote examples from peoples in different stages of civility, Dampier, writing of Natal at the time when it was untouched by the civilising agencies of the European slaver, fire-water and fire-arms, describes this kind of society: "They live together in small villages, and the oldest man governs the rest, for all that live together in one village are akin, and therefore willingly submit to his government."

As an Eastern example of a higher class, the imperial family of the Manchu emperors of China formed such a sept or greater family composed of all the descendants of Aisin Gioro, the Manchu chief of the fifteenth century, from whom they derived their first importance. The sept or tribe was divided into two portions, the inner circle of the direct descendants of the Emperor Nourhachu, and the inferior body of collaterals of the direct line descended through him. The affairs of the sept, which numbered some thousands, were regulated by a court of the tribe which decided their position and privileges. Each of them received an allowance for their support, varying through twelve grades from a very large income to a bare living. Among them were divided the posts of honour or of value. The relations of the tribe with the emperor at different crises were those either of invaluable unified support to the throne or of the dangerous following of a pretender to the succession.

The relations of the Aztec emperor and of the Peruvian Inca with his sept would appear to have been of a similar character.

Many a time in our imperial history a chief has been accused of treachery, or the natural development of the native institutions has been checked or destroyed, or some injustice has been done, because the European, ignorant of any mode of living other than the system which has developed from the decayed feudal usage of Western Europe, has been unable to realise the position in which the ruler of the communal society stands to his people.

In contrast with this most ancient and universal basis

of society, our Western European form of society, the system of living derived from Rome, strong federal rule, the only condition under which empire is possible, one central authority supreme over various peoples or nations, like ours at the present day over the various peoples ruled by us in the East, stands as an exception. Such a system favours the military and financial strength of the ruler, and so tells for expansion, and in a certain way for peace. For progress in all the material aspects of life a strong federal authority is essential, but is not usually attended with any strong spiritual or intellectual pre-eminence.

This form of social evolution predicates commerce among the nations ; it is found only in those countries and among those peoples where commerce and agriculture are highly developed, as in Western Europe to-day; it looks to the imperial ruler, such as the British emperor of India, as the origin and dispenser of law; it vests in him, in the first instance, the absolute ownership of all land ; and *it encourages and looks to individual ownership and user of land,* emanating from the gift or sale by the federal ruler, as the principle of rule, even if to this there may be large exceptions.

Whenever the communal society comes into contact with the problems raised by commerce or by agriculture, problems requiring greater freedom of action for the individual, the instinct for isolation is modified, putting the interests of the individual for the occasion above those of the society. This, commerce and the love of adventure always require. The trader is impatient with the slow accumulation of the means of living. He raises the cry of the prodigal son: "I cannot wait for my succession to a share of the land ; give me the portion of goods that falleth to me"; and he takes his journey into a far country. It is a serious weakness of community of property that in respect of commerce it acts like the modern Trade Union ; it discourages individual energy and adventure. Emulation is absent; everything is nationalised; there is a discouragement to advance in ideas.

The contrasting system under which the nations of

Europe, as far east as Russia and the Balkans, have grown up vests all the land in the king (or, as we now call our anarchy, the State), leaving him to grant it for services to any man, native or alien, on pain until recently of forfeiture of the land if the service was not performed. Primogeniture, taking the place of division among children as the principle of inheritance to the possession of land, drives the younger men out to the newly discovered countries to find fortune. The woman's property passes to her husband on marriage, and she becomes a chattel to the law; the king receives his revenues in money; the temporary user of land is replaced by absolute ownership.

Besides the other influences, internal tribal wars lead to this so-called feudal system. The chief, victorious in war, can dispose of the lands of the conquered without regard to the rules of tribal succession. The conquered become his subjects and, when sufficiently identified with the ruling tribe, may be used to subdue others. The Portuguese and Spaniards themselves, when they reached out to the east and to the west, had just passed through the process by which many opposed divisions of a people had been united into one nation now reaching out for empire. Only a few years before the conquest of Mexico and Peru the Spaniards had finally subdued the Moors in Spain.

And yet another force was moving the world. The tendency, as society leaves the communal and approaches the commercial state, is to exalt throughout more and more the powers of the overlord, king or chief at the expense of the common rights of the freeman. At the time Cortes went to Mexico and Pizarro to Peru all Western Europe was passing through this further change of life. In England, Scotland, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy, the great nobles, or smaller chiefs, as you may call them, were being crushed by the strong representative of central authority, their lands and privileges forfeited on various pretexts to the king. Absolute tyranny without the checks inherent in tribal authority governed the Western world.

Yet there were influences at work to offset this move-

ment towards autocracy. Each age is only the growth, the flower perhaps, of past ages, the influence of the past regulating the form and the rapidity of growth. Much tribal custom remained embedded among the Spaniards, the first military Power of the day, and among the Portuguese, the first naval Power, the peoples who had most closely adopted the feudal usages. It is a long process of growth and opening of one flower as another on the same stalk decays. The Christian religion was softening and exalting the human passions of the layman, and, as the movement for the reform of the Western Church in part succeeded, it drew with it a remaking of feudal usages which has resulted for the commercial peoples of Western Europe in the formation of our present social system. But it left untouched the communal usages, where its influence failed to assert itself.

Section III. The Problem of Intermarriage

We must go back a long way. To go only as far as to the Crusades. One great difference which kept the European Christian and the Oriental Moslem apart at this time was the view taken by their different religions as to marriage. It is a matter which lies at the root of permanence of empire. The men of Europe, as a result of the salutary authority of the Christian Church, whether Greek or Roman, became monogamous. The Moslem creed, though economic necessity may confine the Turk to one wife, permits polygamy, making the succession to any ruler always uncertain, accompanied frequently with civil war or assassination. This tended to the safety of Europe in the Middle Ages by breaking up great Moslem or Pagan empires, which might otherwise have overwhelmed it.[3] For instance, at the death of Genghis Khan, Europe was saved by the division of his power and dominions among his children.

It might hardly perhaps be accurate as a general statement, but it would be perilously near the truth to say that, as monogamy became the practice of Europe, a society resting on the immediate family, on individual ownership of

land, and finally on inheritance by primogeniture, supplanted communal usages. These held their own longest in those parts of Europe such as Norway and Ireland until, as paganism gave way to Christianity, polygamy and communal usages gradually disappeared together. Whereas at the present day outside Christian Europe and countries settled by European expansion polygamy is practised, the communal system of living for the most part remains with it, modified only by European influence or by economic causes. It is unlikely that the Russians, so far reverting to the communal form of society as to prohibit private ownership of land, would, as Russia is a Christian country, permit polygamy.

It is only very gradually that the custom of primogeniture, which made it possible for a ruler to hold together several peoples, took the place of the instinct for division among the children which is a feature of the communal society. But although in the decay of the Roman Empire the varied groups of families which rise upon its ruins, except where they fall under the shadow of Papal Rome, look to division among the sons rather than to primogeniture as regards the succession of their rulers, there is another means open to the king for obtaining power over peoples to which he is not akin, and confederating tribes and nations who would be otherwise hostile—alliances by means of marriages. It is a means which, so long as any nations are ruled by an hereditary ruler, can act both ways : either as a reconciler of national jealousies, or as an incentive to sanguinary war. You have only to look through the history of modern Europe down to 1914 to view the alliances of the French and Spanish kings, or the chain of marriages of the family of the German emperors and princes, to see international marriages among rulers acting as the agency for the consolidation of territory, and thus as creating alliances for international peace, or as the cause, by increase of national conceit or by disputes over succession to thrones, of bloody wars.

Such marriages are of importance even where the ruler of an empire is a king emperor with authority limited by

law, represented in matters of war and foreign relations by the temporary leader of a political faction which for a moment has a majority of votes, for if the king is a man of force he will make his will felt in such affairs. They cease to be of any value in a republic, but a republic has always been a temporary stage only towards imperialism, and the marriages of the military emperor may have as important an effect as that of the hereditary king.

In early mediaeval times they were of great value for expansion and increase of power and territory. Through them the kings of England, Scotland, and France, and in a lesser degree the princes of Wales and Galloway, sought to arrange disputed questions of territory, to round off boundaries, and to settle difficulties which would otherwise only be ended by force. They led to the English king's first taste of empire. He not only made himself a strong position by his alliances in France, Germany, Spain and Sicily, but he annexed for the time further provinces of France.

He made a beginning of empire by arranging marriage alliances. If such alliances turned out to be politically or financially unsuitable, or if something better became available, it was always open to apply to the Pope for a divorce. Though divorce could not be obtained by a queen for adultery, even coupled with cruelty, she might obtain a divorce if she were the king's second cousin, and her divorce suited political conditions. Examples of such divorces are those of Eleanor from Louis of France, and her son John from Hawisa of Gloucester, or, as examples of the tyranny of the Papal Court, the Spanish instances given below.

The historical side of these royal marriages which is of interest to us to-day as practical politics is the negative side, the absence of such marriages between those kings and princes and the tribal peoples, Irish, Welsh or Norse, who still kicked against Roman supremacy, who, like the Mexicans and Peruvians of the sixteenth century or the peoples of the East then and to-day, still held to the usages of communal life and the communal rules as to the

devolution of property. The feudal heiress carried her fiefs with her to her husband; she was worth marrying for her territorial rights; but in the communal society she passed into the family of her husband and the land remained to the tribe. The tribal woman was dowered by her kinsman with a gift of chattels only.

There were exceptions to this lack of kingly intermarriage with people who held by tribal custom. Edward IV of England was the descendant of such a marriage; the descendants of the much-married Nesta were not only largely responsible for the hold of the English on Wales but for the invasion and conquest of Ireland; Strongbow cements his conquest in Ireland by marrying Dermot's daughter.

But the absence as a rule of Irish or Scandinavian alliances in the Middle Ages speaks for the little value of the communal land system as offering valuable consideration for marriage. If there had been any good territorial or commercial bargains to be made, no consideration would have prevented the Norman or Angevin from haggling over other people's women or from bartering their own relations. It is interesting in the early days of the East India Company to read of tentative proposals made occasionally to marry English women to the native princes.

Spain is an excellent example for imperial history in most of its aspects. It is quoted here only in connection with the growth and strengthening of empire by marriage, the check to unity by division among children and the effect of polygamy in keeping the monogamous Christian apart from races with whom he might otherwise ally himself.

In very early times the country south of the Pyrenees fell under the control of four several empires or groups of peoples in succession before it became a united kingdom, being the territory and battle-ground successively of the Carthaginians, Romans, Visigoths, and Arabs. With the first three we are not here concerned.

When the Saracens from Arabia overran the world, bodies of Arabs from northern Africa invaded (A.D. 711)

and gradually conquered Spain, carrying their arms into Gaul until stayed by Charles Martel at Tours. The Spanish Christian inhabitants, driven into the mountainous ridges of the north, formed by slow degrees the lordships of Asturias, Biscay, Leon, Aragon, and Navarre, and later Castile, for the most part dimly acknowledging the Moorish supremacy. The Arabs divided their conquests into the provinces of Granada, Murcia, Nerida, Saragossa, Toledo, and Valencia, having their capital at Cordova. For the next four hundred years a ceaseless war was waged between all these districts for the mastery, resulting in a steady gain of territory from the Arabs, whom we call the Moors as coming from North Africa. The wars were between Moslem and Christian, between alliances of both against others, between Christian and Christian, and between Moor and Moor, fresh invading hordes from Africa sometimes attacking and sometimes assisting their brethren in Spain. The Moors of Spain represented all that was highest in art, science, literature, and the humanities of the Saracen outpouring. They were the high type of the civilisation of the day. But their final defeat and expulsion from Spain followed upon the weakness caused by the civil wars between their rulers, the wars of succession on the death of every king, and the attempts at dominance by adventurers from the northern coast of Africa on the richer soil of Spain. On the other hand, the Spanish Empire slowly grew by the intermarriage of the monogamous Christians, who did not intermarry with the polygamous Moslem, but the process was long delayed by the perpetual subdivision among children. The story is also of interest to us owing to intermarriages between English and Spanish royal families. In 1157, as the result of such a division, there were reigning two kings—an Alfonso of Castile and an Alfonso of Leon.

About 1170 the kings of Castile and Leon conquered what is now Portugal from the Moors. The son of the duke of Burgundy, who had married the daughter of Alfonso of Castile, was made ruler, and it soon became a kingdom.

Alfonso of Leon married Teresa of Portugal, his cousin.

Here came in the imperial power of Papal Rome. Innocent III, who enforced his authority successfully over John of England and Philip Augustus of France and many minor kings, dissolved the marriage after two daughters had been born on the ground of too close relationship. Alfonso of Castile had married Eleanor, the daughter of Henry II of England, a marriage in which Englishmen should take pride, for they had issue a daughter Berengaria, one of the most romantic heroines of imperial history. The Alfonsos of Castile and Leon kept up the suicidal war which was only stopped by the sacrifice of Berengaria in marriage to her cousin Alfonso of Leon.

Peace between kings did not suit the tortuous policy of Rome. Innocent interfered as before, declared the marriage of Alfonso of Leon to Berengaria void, put an interdict on their territory, and excommunicated them. They resisted stoutly for nearly six years, after which they were forced to separate. But their children were declared legitimate, and ultimately the English strain in the person of their son, known as Saint Ferdinand, united Castile and Leon.

The reunion was effected by the patriotism and self-sacrifice of Berengaria. Her parents left under her guardianship a boy who died when ten years old. Berengaria became queen of Castile. She gave up her throne for the unity of the land; sending for her son Ferdinand from Leon, she abdicated in his favour in order to keep Leon and Castile united. Then her sometime husband Alfonso made war on her and her son. She took the field and beat him. When he died he left Leon away from Castile to his daughters by Teresa of Portugal. There was ample opportunity for civil war and redivision. But Berengaria, at risk to herself, went to Leon, met Teresa, and effected a peaceful settlement, by which the daughters were provided for, while Ferdinand became king of both Castile and Leon.

For the rest of her life she supported and aided her son, governing for him at home and helping him in all ways in his most successful wars against the Moors. The union of the two kingdoms enabled him to extend his territory

greatly at their expense, driving them into Granada and taking Cordova and Seville. Granada became a feudal dependency of Castile and Leon.

This is the character given to Berengaria by a British historian of Spain:

"Berengaria was one of those rare beings who seem to have been born to do right, and to have done it. From her earliest youth she was a leading figure, a happy and noble influence in one of the most contemptible and detestable societies of mediaeval Christendom. Married of her own free will to a stranger and an enemy, that she might bring peace to two kingdoms, she was ever a true and loyal wife; unwedded by ecclesiastical tyranny in the very flower of her young womanhood, she was ever a faithful daughter of the Church; inheriting a crown when she had proved her own capacity for royal dominion, she bestowed it on a strange and absent son, with no thought but for the good of her country and of Christendom; and finally as Queen Mother and ever faithful counsellor, she accepted all the difficulties of government, while the glory of royalty was reserved for the king whom she had created. Berengaria was ever present at the right place and at the proper time, and her name is associated only with what is good and worthy and noble, in an age of violence and wrong and robbery; when good faith was well-nigh unknown, when bad men were all-powerful, when murder was but an incident in family life and treason the chief feature in politics" (Burke's "History of Spain," edited by Martin Hume, vol. i. p. 239). While it is not safe to take as unquestionable truth the characters whether good or bad drawn by the historians of the nineteenth century of people living in the thirteenth, it is a pleasure to recognise that this estimate of a great and good woman accords, as far as we can judge, with the facts of her history. She was the granddaughter of Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine, and the great-grandmother of Eleanor, the queen of our Edward I. The characters of both speak much for the better traditions handed down from the English Court.

The son of St. Ferdinand, Alfonso X of Castile, descended from Henry II of England, had a daughter Eleanor, one of England's greatest queens, who in 1254 married Edward I of England. The connection encouraged claims upon the throne of Spain in future years by no means fortunate, when John of Gaunt and the Black Prince fought on the side of one of the worst monsters who ever disgraced a throne, Pedro the Cruel of Castile, against his brother Henry.

Passing over later events, John II of Castile married, as his second wife, Isabella of Portugal. In 1451 a daughter Isabella was born; in 1464 she was married to Ferdinand of Aragon, in 1474 she succeeded to the kingdom of Castile, and in 1479 Ferdinand succeeded to the kingdom of Aragon. Then by their united forces the Moors were expelled from Granada; and all Spain came under one sovereignty.

The reign of Ferdinand and Isabella sees the beginning of the Spanish Empire. In 1492, the year in which the Moors were expelled from Spain, Columbus had his first glimpse of the unknown world in the west of which Spain was for so long to remain the mistress. The marriages of the children of Ferdinand and Isabella had far-reaching effects. John, their son and heir, married Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, emperor of Austria, who had married Mary of Burgundy. John died without issue. Katharine of Aragon married successively Arthur and Henry VIII, and had a daughter, Queen Mary of England. Philip, son and heir of Maximilian of Austria and, in right of his mother, king of the Low Countries, married Joanna, the second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. She became insane.

Their son, Charles V, inherited Spain, the kingdom of Naples, the dukedom of Burgundy which included Franche-Comté and the Netherlands, and on the death of Maximilian became emperor of Germany. He married Isabella, daughter of Emanuel of Portugal. His son, Philip II, was married four times: to Mary, daughter of the king of Portugal, by whom he had a son, Don Carlos, who was imprisoned by his father and murdered; to Mary, daughter of Henry VIII and Katharine of Aragon; to Isabella,

daughter of Henry II of France; and to his niece, Anne of Austria, by whom he had a son, Philip III.

Just as in these latter days France has balanced excessive seizures by the British with extensions of her own colonial territory in Asia and Africa, so in those times the French kings balanced the union of Spain, Austria, and the Netherlands by the occupation of Burgundy after the death of Charles the Bold, and of Brittany by the marriage of the heiress Anne to the French king, and in greater degree by encouraging a steady stream of cross marriages between the royal families of France and Spain.

On the death of Charles II of Spain without issue, wars of succession and treaties of partition between the French, Austrian, and Bavarian descendants and connections of the Spanish kings filled Europe with bloodshed and confusion for many years, wars of which one of the incidents was the taking of Gibraltar by the British in 1704. Though the combatants had most solemnly renounced their title to the Spanish throne on marriage, the renunciation never stood in the way of any attempt to enforce their claims. In the meantime, the colonial possessions, starved and neglected, died or fell into more virile hands, the colonies revolted and separated, and the Empire finally disappeared.

For us the interest of all this is that seven-eighths or more of the population of our Empire consists of societies still holding by the communal treatment of the resources of life, and practising social customs such as polygamy and holding religious beliefs inconsistent with the practice of the dominant race.

In our dealings during the last two centuries with the unspeakable Turk we, as the greatest Mohammedan Power in the world, have been hindered by fear of revolt, as we are to-day, from our true policy of supporting the monogamous Christian in the East against the savages whose religion teaches the making of proselytes by the sword, and who practise its precepts from time to time by wholesale massacre.

With these Eastern peoples our own will not intermarry. It is always within the bounds of possibility that

one of our princes may marry a girl from Melbourne or Toronto, but for various reasons, including polygamy and the rules governing the devolution of tribal property, it is not possible that any British Christian can intermarry with any of the ancient races of the East. This has a most particular interest for us and for the United States just now in its bearing on the immigration of the yellow races into our Empire. On this subject Sir Henry Parkes, one of our greatest Eastern statesmen, lays down: "We should not encourage or admit among us any class of persons whatever whom we are not prepared to advance to all our franchises, to all our privileges as citizens, and to all our social rights, including the right of marriage."

The proposals made from time to time to provide these peoples with councils and so forth, as means for ruling themselves on the lines of the progression of Western Europe, are worse than worthless unless the assemblies represent not the half-educated baboo, but the chiefs of the greater family.

With us, as with the Romans, there are two sides to empire: those peoples with whom time will bring us into closer union, peoples who are part of ourselves, of the same race, religion, and social customs. Of these by no means the weakest of the ties are the social laws relating to inheritance and land. Those on the other side are those peoples whom we hold, as Spain and Portugal held their Indian possessions, partly by force for our commercial advantage and partly as the wards of our ideals of life, in the conceit that by adopting our graft on their stock in the place of their own natural growth they will advance in morals and in social strength.

There may be some truth in this belief, but it reacts on our own home-grown conceptions of a naturally free and progressive community by the spectacle side by side of societies with whom we can never mix in marriage held in an apparently perpetual tutelage. The more freedom we can give them, the more loyalty we shall receive from them and the more certain will be the endurance of our own free institutions.

CHAPTER XX

THE DIRECT ATTACK ON THE MONOPOLY OF THE INDIES—THE FIRST ENGLISH AND DUTCH VOYAGES

In these last pages we have been dealing for the most part with deeds of extraordinary audacity of the Spanish soldiery. It now remains to speak of the equal courage and equal disregard of suffering of British and Dutch sailors, to tell of the direct attack on the East Indies by sea by way of the Cape, the most dangerous of all the courses open to the northern people who wished for a share in the trade of the East. It was a very dangerous adventure, not only on account of the perils of the very long and uncharted voyage, but because when arrived in the East the interlopers had no base of supplies, no port for refitting, no ally from whom to purchase arms or ammunition, and no science to combat scurvy and disease. Those who do not approve of their methods of war and trade must remember the courage involved in the facing of all these dangers.

The merchants of London, the wealthiest and most aggressive of English traders, were not content with the results of any of the routes taken to reach the East with which I have been dealing, though they contributed generously to advance all of them. In 1591 they determined on a frontal attack. The defeat of the Armada had so crippled Portuguese sea power that they were encouraged to fit out three ships—the *Penelope* under the Admiral or Chief Captain Raymond; the *Edward Bonaventure* commanded by Captain James Lancaster, a seaman who had had experience both as soldier and merchant in Portugal; and the *Merchant Royal*—to round the Cape and defy the monopoly of trade of the Mediterranean nations

in the East. Two accounts of the voyage were written by Edward Barker, Lancaster's lieutenant, and by Edward May.[1]

In dealing with these events three things must be borne in mind. First, though I have spoken, and I think rightly, of the English raids in the West Indies before 1580 as piracy, the line drawn between the anarchy of war and the obligations of peace was far less definite than it afterwards became and continued until 1919. There was no telegraph, there was no steam. The colonists, the traders, the adventurers East or West, must protect themselves from attack even in time of the most profound peace, without any hope of help or redress from the home government for a long period of years, if it took any notice at all, and then only by way of retaliation on the innocent. Secondly, when in 1580 Philip II of Spain, as claimant by international marriage, enforcing his claim by violence, annexed Portugal, that unfortunate country was compelled to share in all the disabilities of war as against Philip's enemies as well as in Philip's bankruptcy. Attacks on their Eastern possessions were justified by the custom of war. And thirdly, until England, to her very great glory, at the height of her unchallenged naval autocracy, gave to the world the doctrine and practice of "free ships, free goods," freeing from capture enemy's goods in neutral ships, all merchant's ventures, not only in the ships of the enemy, but in any ships, could be seized as prize by a belligerent power. This alteration in the laws of war was the greatest and most permanent of British donations to the freedom of the world. But it still left many causes for which a neutral ship and the goods in it could be seized, if it was of help to the enemy. This is best illustrated for the end of the sixteenth century by quoting a case two hundred years later. In the course of the revolutionary wars with France, Lord Stowell condemned the *Jonge Margaretha*, a Dutch ship bound for Brest with cargo of Dutch cheeses, on the ground that, Brest being a post of naval equipment, the provisions were contraband.[2] Or take the case of the *Commercen*, a Swedish ship carrying a cargo of British barley

for the supply of the allied armies in the Peninsula, captured by a U.S. ship : the United States being at war with Great Britain, but at peace with Sweden.[3]

The ships left Plymouth on April 10, 1591. Near the Equinox they fell into contrary winds and lay on and off for about three weeks. Then they met with and looted a Portuguese caravel laden by merchants of Lisbon for Brazil, out of which they obtained large supplies of wines and provisions. They met with such thunder, lightning, and rain in these parts " that we could not keep our men dry three hours together." They began at once to lose men by scurvy. After efforts to double the Cape, frustrated by contrary winds, they put into Saldanha Bay, from which they sent back the *Merchant Royal* with fifty sick men. Here they stayed for fifteen days or so, living on cranes and geese which they shot, on mussels and shellfish from the rocks, penguins and seals. They also shot antelopes and " overgrowen monkeis." After a few days the negroes brought them down cattle and sheep.

There were now only 198 sound men left ; 101 in the *Penelope* and 97 in the *Edward.* After passing Cape Corrientes (about 24° lat. by 30° long.), nearly opposite the southern point of Madagascar, they encountered a storm in which they parted company with the *Penelope,* which they never saw again. We are now concerned only with the one ship left, the *Edward.* Four days later lightning slew four of the men outright, all the others being injured, badly bruised or blinded, and the mainmast split. The next record is the seizure of some barques of Moors laden with grain, hens, and ducks, on the good old rule, the simple plan, that they shall take who have the power without asking to whom it belonged. Then they touched at the Comoro Islands (11·30° S. by 43·40° E.) for water, with which the natives supplied them ; but the Moors (perfidiously, they say) attacked the English and killed a number of their men.

On November 7 they make Zanzibar, where the Portuguese have a little factory. These send to ask the English who they are and what they want. One of the claimants

to the throne of Portugal against Philip had been one, Don Antonio, to whom Elizabeth had given a half-hearted and unsuccessful support. But the excuse will do, so Lancaster and his men reply that they have come on the business of Don Antonio. Lying off the coast, they captured in a boat a sherif or priest descendant of the Prophet; him they kept with them for two months, as security for the provisions which they required. Meanwhile they attacked a Portuguese barque in the harbour, but failed to take it. The Moors, glad to see the white Christians attacking one another, fill them with stories of the wickedness of the Portuguese.

On leaving Zanzibar, the manager of the Portuguese factory sent them a friendly letter by a negro and a Moor, asking for a jar of wine, one of oil, and two or three pounds of gunpowder. They kidnapped the negro, and carried him with them as spy and informer, as they did to all peoples on all occasions; "for wheresoever we came, there our care was to get into our hands some one or two of the countries to learn the language and states of those parts where we touched."

Their intention was to have lain off Cape Comorin and pounce on the heavily laden Portuguese ships coming home from the East; but they were carried by winds up near to Socotra; making for the Laccadives, they missed them; doubling Cape Comorin, they missed in like manner the Nicobar Islands, and winter coming on, they ran into a harbour by Penang. Here they remained for about three months, landing their sick men, of whom 26 died here. They had only 33 men and a boy left, of whom 22 were fit for work; "our refreshing in this place was very small, only of oysters growing on the rocks, great wilks, and some few fish which we took with our hooks." The winter past, they made sail for the mainland of Malacca, seizing on their way a ship laden with pepper from Pera, south of Pegu. "The night following, all the men except twelve which we took in our ship, being most of them born in Pegu, fled away in their boat, leaving their ship and goods with us." The English follow this course until December 1592, taking

other unarmed ships, out of which the Indians fled, and turning the ships adrift after taking what they desired; as they say of one ship, "after our men had disorderly pilled it."

They try a little trading with the natives, but conceive that they are being betrayed. On December 3, 1592, they anchor off the island of Zeilan to wait for the home-going ships. But now the men have had enough and insist on going home, so they sail for the Cape, having, says May, only 31 lb. of bread per man to carry them to England, with a small quantity of rice. They reached Delagoa Bay in February 1593, "and finding the winds contrary, we spent a month or five weeks before we could double the Cape." Reaching St. Helena, "where one man of us took thirty goodly congers in one day and other rocky fish and some bonitos," they found a man who had been left behind by the *Merchant Royal* some eighteen months previously. He went out of his mind and died. They had still with them "four or five men of Pegu which we had taken."

Lancaster now proposed to go west and plunder Pernambuco, but his men wished for home. After wandering and tacking between the line and 8° N. for six weeks in calms and contrary winds, the food decreasing and mutiny every day threatening, they made for Trinidad, but missing it, reached a small island called Mona between Porto Rico and San Domingo. Here they got some food from the Indians, and a French ship of Caen came by and sold them some wine and bread. Then they set out to go to Newfoundland, but they met with such storms as carried off their sails and masts and sprang leaks. They met again with the French ship, which had no more food to spare, but sold them hides for food. Probably in those days a good deal of flesh was left on the hides. Baulked by the winds, they turned back again to San Domingo, but were carried to the islands called the Pueblos or Claudie Islands, towards Porto Rico, where they find land crabs, tortoises, and fresh water. Here they lay seventeen or eighteen days. On leaving for Mona five of their men deserted them.

Reaching Mona, November 20, 1593, the captain, Barker, and some others went on shore in search of food, of which they had none, "our victuals being now utterly spent, and having eaten hides for six or seven days. . . . But in the night our ship did drive away with five men and a boy in it; our carpenter secretly cut their cable, leaving nineteen of us on land without boat or anything."

The nineteen divided into companies. The six, of which the narrator was one, lived for twenty-nine days on stalks of purslain boiled in water and an occasional pumpkin left by the Indians. Then two French ships of Dieppe came by, answered their signals, and twelve of them, all that could be found, they took on board. One party stayed on one of these ships on the north side of San Domingo until April 1594, and arrived at Rye from Dieppe on May 24. May, in the other ship, tells of a conspiracy of his party to seize the French ship. It was wrecked off the Bermudas, and May and the others went in the ship's boat to Cape Breton and Newfoundland, and by an English ship thence home to Falmouth.

The account ends, "We understood in the East Indies by certain Portugals which we took that they have lately discovered the coast of China to the latitude of nine and fiftie degrees (Pekin is in lat. 40) finding the sea still open to the northward; giving great hope of the north-east or north-west passage." O treacherous Portugals! If only these troublesome pirates, instead of lying in wait in the tropics for home-going ships, could be induced to spend their time sailing round the North Pole!

Lancaster's actions in the East had by no means a good effect on the prospects of genuine trade. The Dutch in 1596 represent the Portuguese as saying that they, the Dutch, were the English pirates who had done so much harm three years before.

Coming back in May 1594, he was sent out in October by the London merchants to attack the Portuguese in Pernambuco, where a great East India carrack had been wrecked and her freight unloaded. He went with three ships. After the usual seizure of Spanish and Portuguese

fishing-boats and caravels along the coast and at the Canaries, they crossed to the coast of Brazil, being joined by three more ships under a Captain Venner. One of their men straying off was taken by the Portuguese, "very kindly used and brought again to us." When they reach Pernambuco they find there in the harbour three great Dutch ships. Acting on mutual and probably justifiable distrust, Lancaster does not take his ships into the harbour, but sends in some of the little ships taken on the way, full of men. Unable to do anything against the Dutch ships, and apparently doubting his own men, Lancaster ordered them to run their boats with such violence on shore that they would be broken up and the men would have to fight. They then attacked the port, and the Portuguese artillery, being very ineffective, they took it, and sacked the lower town. Here they invited the Dutch and five French ships which came in to join in the loot. The allies were so fearful of spies that they hung their prisoners. The Portuguese and Indians began to throw up a trench for defence, but before it was finished the allies fell on them and drove them out, and the men in the boats towed off five ships which were sent down to attack the raiders. "God be thanked," says the pious narrator, "who was always with us and our best defence on this voyage."

Just as they were on the point of weighing anchor with their loot, they observed a little work being thrown up near the ships. Lancaster proposed to go without fighting, "for it was but folly to seek wars, since we had no need to do it." But his men want a fight, and he lets them go with a caution. Going too far, they receive a sharp defeat, three captains, among others, being killed. Then they went home. Saluting the queen's ship in the Downs, a barrel of gunpowder exploded, killing several men and nearly scuttling the ship. Lancaster was knighted for his services.

The Dutch were not far behind the English in their attack on the East, after Philip II in 1594 had ordered the seizure of Dutch ships and cargoes, and put the crews in prison under the Inquisition. In April 1595 they sent out an expedition under Cornelius de Houtman, a Dutchman

who, like Lancaster, had spent time in Portugal learning the secrets of the trade. The originator of the Dutch voyages was one Balthazar Moucheron, a Zealander.[3] Houtman was ordered to avoid the Spaniards and Portuguese and trade with the Indians, where these had no settlement. On the way out he prevented his men from attacking home-coming ships. The expedition returned in two years and four months. There were four ships, whose four captains quarrelled among themselves and with the four civil directors who represented the 300,000 guilders subscribed by Amsterdam merchants. Houtman had not the ability to control the quarrellers, and was even accused of poisoning one of them.

After the usual experiences they arrived in Madagascar, by which time seventy men, including one of the captains, had died. The natives were willing to trade, but very soon the fear of treachery led to the murder, theft, and kidnapping which marks all European relations with other peoples at this time. It is to the credit of the Portuguese that up to this date the natives of Madagascar do not appear to have seen fire-arms or to have been attacked by the Europeans. After spending some time in the island they crossed to the Maldives and to Sumatra, where they did a little trading with the natives.

In February 1596 they arrive at Bantam. Portuguese, who are sent by the governor to know their business, are civil and kind to the Dutch, give them an account of Thomas Cavendish and of the havoc wrought by Captain Lancaster. Of course, they warn the Dutch to mistrust the natives, and the natives warn them to mistrust the Portuguese.

In June 1596 they signed articles of agreement for trade with the regent of the Sultan, who was a minor. So far affairs went well with them. Now they made a mistake. They had been advised to buy their pepper at once, as it would be dearer when the merchants from China arrived. Very likely the Indian authorities were anxious to get them away before complications with the Portuguese arose. But the Dutch waited and refused to purchase, with the result that, the distrust on both sides increasing, they

found that they could buy none. Then Houtman, as the agent of the Dutch High Mightinesses, swaggered and threatened the governor that he would seize Arabian junks. The governor very properly imprisoned him, with some of his men. The Dutchmen on the ships, on the governor sending to them an interpreter with nine slaves, seized and imprisoned them and took four junks in the harbour, Houtman and the others imprisoned pleading with the men on the ships not to imperil their lives by such action. The end was that the Dutch were compelled to pay 2000 pieces of eight as ransom.

They then, arranging with a Chinaman that they should pretend to attack his ship and seize the cargo, which had been paid for in advance, sailed down the coast, seizing junks, trading, spying, occasionally landing and plundering, and finding great difficulty in obtaining either goods or provisions at the different islands. In several places they were fiercely attacked and many were killed. Finally they stopped at Bali, burnt one of their ships, having only 89 men left, got a cargo, and went home. They had difficulty about the price, and as a result they complained that the pepper sold to them by the natives was mixed with black sand and little stones. Why not?

After this fairly successful venture the Dutch poured out fleets and single ships from every little town in Holland to attack Philip east and west. One unsuccessful expedition under Van Noort of Rotterdam, going in July 1597 west by Magellan's Straits to the Philippines and Borneo, came home without any result in August 1601, with 44 men out of 284; another in 1598 went round the Cape to Bantam, and traded with considerable success. Each of the nations, English, Dutch, Spaniards, and Portuguese, represented to the Indians that they were the people, and all the others pirates and robbers.

I recommend the study of these first voyages of English and Dutch seamen to the East and West Indies as very complete examples of Anglo-Dutch adventure, trade, and warfare in the sixteenth century. According to the habits of warfare of that time and for very long after, the seaman

was not likely to be called to account for all his seizures of shipping and other acts of violence so long as he was so far away from home. The only inducement to reproof or interference on the part of the home authority would exist in the fear either of greater reprisals or of political reaction in Europe.

As the attacker by isolated raids on well-settled and organised territories discovered by other peoples, the Englishman or Dutchman was bound to be more careful in his treatment of the natives, pagan or Moslem, whom he desired to have as his allies in his conflict with the other Christian Powers. Otherwise there is little difference between the actions of these seamen, of the Vikings of five centuries earlier, or of the buccaneers of a century later. The same methods, the same disregard of life, the same reckless courage appear in each. But in either case the time came when the greater profit to be made by peaceful trade caused the Viking modes in the East to become as archaic as the warfare of Olaf Trygvasson. The Elizabethan Viking gives way to the Jacobean Hansa. To put it in a Rule of Three form, as Elizabeth is to the pagan army, so is James I to the German Hanseatic traders who allied themselves with the Victual Brothers to beat the king of Denmark.

There is a moral to the story. Our Empire has been built up and kept not by Viking methods, but by peaceful trade, though the two are interdependent, and the one possibly the necessary prelude for the other. When the great queen died, in spite of the Elizabethan energy and courage, England had no colonies or possessions beyond seas in the West except two undefined and unoccupied tracts on which colonial settlement had hitherto failed, known as Virginia and Newfoundland. It was well on into James's reign before the settlements were renewed. In the East Lancaster's expeditions were only followed up in the last years of the great queen's reign by the establishment of the East India Company, which fails for a long time to hold its own against its Dutch rival. By 1622 the Dutch had driven us completely out of the Malay penin-

sula. The Chartered Companies begin the second stage of imperial expansion.

Before proceeding to the second stage of this new attack on the East, it may be useful to connect the two periods with a few dates. All the dates are approximate only.

1099, Establishment of the Crusader's kingdom of Jerusalem. 1187, Saladin takes Jerusalem. 1204, Crusaders take and loot Constantinople; Moslems conquer Egypt. 1210–14, Ghengis Khan overruns Asia, invades China, Persia, etc. 1258, Mongols take Baghdad. 1261, Greeks regain Constantinople. 1268, Antioch falls. 1270, St. Louis dies at Tunis. 1291, Loss of Acre and Palestinian seaboard; Land trade routes to the East blocked. 1341–7, Turks enter Europe. 1361–1405, Conquests of Timour. 1415, First expedition of Prince Henry of Portugal. 1418, Discovery of Madeira. 1432, Azores (Santa Maria) discovered. 1434, Portuguese pass Cape Bojador. 1441, Portuguese pass Cape Blanco. 1445, Portuguese reach the river Senegal. 1453, Fall of Constantinople. 1455, Cadamosto goes to Timbuctoo and then to river Gambia. 1456, Portuguese reach Cape Verde Islands and go to Rio Grande or Bolola River. 1460, Prince Henry dies. 1471, The Equator crossed. 1485, Embassy from the king of Benin telling of supposed empire of Prester John in the East. 1487, Bartolomeo Diaz rounds the Cape; Pedro de Covilham goes to Abyssinia and the East by the Red Sea. 1492, Columbus discovers San Salvador and islands in the West Indies. 1497, Expedition of John Cabot to the north-west. 1497, Vasco da Gama reaches Calicut by way of the Cape. 1500, Cabral discovers Brazil. 1505, Almeida defeats the Moslem fleets from Calicut. 1509, Almeida's great naval victory off Diu. 1512, Nuñez de Balboa sees the Pacific from Darien. 1517, King Manoel of Portugal sends an embassy to the emperor of China. 1519, Panama founded. 1521, Cortes's conquest of Mexico. 1522, Magellan sails round the world. 1523, Charles V sells his claims on the Moluccas to Portugal. 1533, Pizarro's conquest of Peru. 1534, Jacques Cartier explores the St. Lawrence as far as Mont Real. 1536, Inquisition introduced into Portugal. 1540, Settlement of Frenchmen near Quebec. 1543, St. Francis Xavier goes to India. 1545, John de Castro's great naval victory over Turkish and Indian fleets at Diu. 1548, Sugar cane introduced into Brazil from Madeira. 1549, John III sends a viceroy to Brazil. 1552, Death of St. Francis Xavier. 1553, Willoughby and Chancellor's voyage to the White Sea; Chancellor goes to Moscow. 1554, Philip and Mary give a charter to the Muscovy Company. 1555, French Huguenots attempt a settlement in Brazil. 1556–1605, Akbar, Mogul in Hindostan. 1558, Accession of Elizabeth. 1559, Hernando de Soto explores the Mississippi Valley. 1562, French Huguenots settle in Florida. 1570, Don Luis de Athaide's great victory over the Moslem king of Bijapur at Goa. 1570, Excommunication of Elizabeth. 1576, Robert Norman, an Englishman, discovers the dipping of the needle. 1576–78, Frobisher's three voyages to the north-west. 1577, Dutch Calvinists refuse to allow Catholic worship in Holland. 1577–80, Drake sails round the world. 1578, Gilbert's

patent for Newfoundland; Pope declares crusade against the Dutch Reformers. 1580, Philip II unites Spain and Portugal. 1581, Elizabeth's charter (confirmed 1593) to four merchants as Turkey Company; Dutch declaration of independence from Spain. 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert takes possession of Newfoundland; he is lost in the *Golden Hind*. 1584, Assassination of William of Orange; Raleigh's charter for an undefined Virginia; he sends Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow to Roanoke Island in North Carolina to prospect. 1585, Raleigh settles a colony in Virginia under Grenville, Lane, and Heriot. 1585–86, Drake goes on a plundering raid in the West Indies; he brings back the remains of Raleigh's colony. 1585–87, Davis's three voyages to the north-west. 1586–88, Cavendish sails round the world; Philip II seizes all Dutch ships in Spanish waters; they mutually ruin each other's trade. Philip helps Leaguers in France and Dutch help Henri Quatre. 1587, A new colony in Virginia; Raleigh's patent given to John White; the colony is destroyed; Drake at Cadiz. 1588, The Armada. 1589, Philip closes the ports of Portugal to English ships; he seizes Dutch ships in Lisbon and imprisons crews. 1591, Lancaster's first voyage to the East Indies. 1595, Hawkins and Drake make a raid in the West Indies; it fails, and they both die on the voyage; Raleigh's patent for Guiana; his expedition in search of El Dorado. 1596, English and Dutch take Cadiz and destroy shipping; Spain admits bankruptcy; first Dutch expedition to the East Indies. 1598, Peace between Philip and Henri Quatre. 1599, Report by Dr. Thorne at Seville on East Indies; London merchants subscribe £72,000 for an East India Company. Dec. 31, 1600, London East India Company incorporated. Feb. 1601, First English Company's voyage to the East Indies; abolition of monopolies. 1602, Dutch East India Company incorporated. 1603, Death of Queen Elizabeth. 1604, Second English Company's voyage to the East Indies; James I makes peace with Spain. 1605–9, Settlement at Oyapok in Guiana. 1605–27, Jehangir, Mogul in Hindostan. 1605, Gunpowder Plot. 1606, Double charter to London Adventurers and Plymouth Adventurers in North America. 1608, Settlement of Jamestown. 1609, Henry Hudson discovers Hudson Bay. 1611, Plantation of Ulster by James I. 1612, Bermuda charter. 1614, Thirty Years' War. 1619, Murder of John of Barneveldt by Maurice of Nassau; exile of Grotius and others. 1620, Landing of Pilgrim Fathers. 1621, Dutch West India Company formed; war between Holland, Spain, and Austria. 1622, Persians and English capture Ormuz from the Portuguese. 1623, Massacre of Amboyna by the Dutch. 1625, Death of James I. 1627–58, Shah Jehan, Mogul in Hindostan. 1629, North and South Carolina and Georgia granted by Charles I to Sir Robert Heath. 1636, Herring dispute with the Dutch leads to Ship Money. 1640, Portugal obtains freedom from Spain. 1641, Marriage of William II of Orange to Mary, daughter of Charles I. 1648, Treaty of Westphalia; peace between United Provinces and Spain. 1649, Murder of Charles I. 1650, William II of Orange dies; William III born. 1651, Navigation Act passed; war with Holland. 1653, Cape of Good Hope seized by Holland. 1654, Peace with Holland; settlement for Amboyna. 1660–1709, Conflict between two English Companies in India. 1670, Hudson Bay Company's charter.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE SECOND STAGE OF VIKING INVASION

Section I. The Individual gives way to the Company

Whatever view we may take of the always questionable actions of the pioneers of trade and empire, there can be but one opinion as to the magnificence of their courage and endurance. It is this feature alone which makes the whole of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, that period from the day when Prince Henry's captains doubled Cape Nun, when Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope, when Columbus discovered Asia in San Salvador and San Domingo, when Cortes conquered Mexico and Pizarro Peru, to the establishment of the English and Dutch Chartered Companies, for all the nations of Western Europe, an heroic age.

The heroic age passes. It rests on the initiative of some man who leads, who combines extreme courage with foresight and judgment, the hero who ventures life and property in a desperate venture. Only too often he finds that the promised homes for heroes, who have put it to the touch for their country to win or lose it all, turn out to be the prison, the asylum, or the gallows. The spirit of adventure changes. Selfish gain, playing for safety, takes the place of the reckless gamble with human foes and evil forces of nature; the expedition for exploration, for conquest, and, by the way, for barter and plunder, gives way to settled trade. The German Hansa takes the place of the Norse Viking; the splendid outlawry of the excommunicated Elizabeth is replaced by the timid shiftiness of James.

If the hero's daring leans towards loss, men cease after

a time to emulate his unlucky courage; if his exploits meet with a deserved success, the eleventh-hour waiter on certainty will, on being properly indemnified, take over from the exhausted hero the chances of the already successful venture. Above all, the society insists that, whether gained by its help or in its spite, it shall share in the profits. It claims to control and limit his discoveries, to settle his new-found regions, to subordinate his unregulated daring to its own terms of trade or conquest. The venture of the few bold individuals gives place to organised effort by the community for the enlargement of trade.

In the first instance, in all ages, whether the movement of trade is from one village to another or from the local market to the staple town; whether the shipments go from the staple town to an alien community a few miles away in Europe, or from the merchants of Europe to a far distant continent, the effort is that of a few private men who engage in a single venture. It is only once or twice in history that such a movement is begun by a king's son like Henry the Navigator; even then trade is not of the essence, but a by-product; crusade or conquest or exploration of foreign lands for a political or idealist end forms the chief objective. The early pioneers pay their expenses by the profits of barter, by loot, or occupation of territory; they risk and lose only their own fortunes and those of their friends in the ventures. They are wholly responsible for loss. Prince Henry himself died bankrupt; Pizarro, Almagro, and De Luque pledged their own credit in their prolonged quest for empire; Michael Lok, the man who financed Frobisher, ended his days in prison for debt, while his family starved.

But trade itself is never for long in single or few hands without a social organisation behind it. The good side of trade is that it is a social influence, the greatest social influence for peace that exists, the direct negative of the silly nonsense talked about the wicked capitalist and the foolish Trade Union. When the politicians, men for the most part entirely inexperienced in commerce, ruin or permit to starve for political reasons millions of potential

traders and potential customers, they destroy the greatest agency for peace, the sole preventive of war, the solvent of all international difficulties. To be healthy, trade must always be regulated by the community.

Trade is always timid. It is seldom that the man with money is also a man with superb courage. The tendency of trade at all times is towards the association of a considerable body of men under corporate government, men relying for protection on their association with other men, always keeping touch by the right, always keeping step. Such men seek a monopoly of a particular kind of trade or of trade in a particular district. Trade is national. At the present day it tends to become international by great combinations of money-lenders.

We come to the period when the control of European expansion passed from the individual to the company chartered by the ruler of the nation.

To our modern system of Joint Stock Companies the early Chartered Company was a transitory stage. The subscription to the resources of the Company was not, as at present, subscription for all the purposes of the Company for all time. The seventeenth-century subscription was for a single voyage or adventure only; it was not transferable; the subscriber was responsible for the full extent of the loss. The first letter book of the East India Company, 1600–1619,[1] opens with the apt sentence: "Upon complaint made to the Court by new authorized Company of Merchants preparing to trade to the East Indies that certain persons which heretofore promised and assured by their subscriptions when the said voyage was first projected, to advance certain sums of money for the proceeding in the same, upon confidence and assurance whereof the preparation for the said voyage hath been undertaken and advanced to a full readiness, and yet nevertheless that the said persons would since upon some undue pretences retract their former promises in that behalf whereof would ensue that by the want of their promised contributions the voyage must break," the Lords make an order for payment, and "that order shall be taken with such as refuse the same

to commit them to prison until they do conform themselves."

Another aspect of the transition lay in the mode of payment to the men of action employed by the Company. In the heroic age the venture followed the lines of the communal society: all shared in the proceeds. No doubt the greater part of the loot, as at all times happens, found its way into the pockets of the leaders and the hungry officials who watched them from home; no doubt Ananias and Sapphira kept back part of the price from the common stock and lied about it. But that did not affect the principle that each man who served and suffered expected as much as he could obtain by any means of pressure of the possibly abnormal gains for his share. The sharing of the Mexican spoil by Cortes and his men gives example of all sides of this.

Section II. Monopoly—Capital and Labour

With the advent of the Chartered Company we are introduced to capital and labour, to the men who hired strictly at the market value of the day work for a definite fixed wage without reference to the extent of the profits. Writing in 1603 to Sir Julius Caesar, the East India Company states: "All the mariners which were employed in the said voyage were hired and entertained for wages by the month as is usual in all merchants' voyages."[2] Instead of division of the loot after victory there is the balance-sheet and the ledger. The change was only very gradual with the Northern Powers; the seamen still got shares of prize money for a galleon which they seized, though it had come long ago in the regal trade of Portugal and Spain.

This was inherent in the conditions under which the East Indian trade was carried on. The financier who stayed at home and provided the capital for a dangerous venture had no intention of sharing great gains with the rough men employed by him as material for the risk. In one instance, when the ships come home the porters' pockets are sewn up to prevent any such unequal distribution.

There are many other aspects of change. Society, in the first instance, is represented by the king, who is very sure to interest himself closely in any venture out of which profit may be made, and to expect a chief share. When the *Madre de Dios* was taken and looted at the Azores by a number of English ships, her cargo, "being divided among the adventurers, whereof her Majesty was the chief, was sufficient to give contentment to all parties," which was unusual. Besides this, as the actions of the adventurers might embroil the nation with other powers, the men who risk their life and property must have a licence from the king to do so, for which they will pay him either a sum down, or a fifth or other proportion of the gold and silver gained. Each voyage takes place under a Royal Commission from the ruler. When, in 1601, Queen Elizabeth establishes the East India Company, she grants a licence "to her loving subjects that they at their own adventures, costs and charges, as well for the honour of this our Realm of England as for the increase and advancement of trade and merchandize within the realm, etc., might adventure after merchandize, gold, pearl, jewels and other commodities, which are to be bought, bartered, procured, exchanged, or otherwise obtained." "Otherwise obtained" is good.

There were other reasons for the king's licence to a Company for trade. It was only to such a body that the civil and military powers necessary for the protection of their persons and their trade at so great a distance could be given; it was only on them holding the monopoly that responsibility for the acts of all men of the nation in the East could rest in the eyes of the native ruler. Wherever the Europeans go in their voyages of discovery they find that in the first instance they can trade only through the king, whether it is Ivan or Akbar, or some petty rajah.

Then, again, the regulation and protection of mediaeval trade rested with the ruler not only for his benefit as distributor of the gains, but to enable him to control output and quality in competition with the merchants of other nations. The co-operative principle marking all

mediaeval effort was expressed in the monopolist company licensed by the king. The king takes precedence in disposing of the goods bought. When in 1605 the East India Company are urgent in their desire to put on the market their huge cargo of pepper so that they may be able to pay the sailors' wages, it must not be sold until his Majesty's great stock of pepper at Leadenhall be first uttered and sold.[3] The king would like them to buy his pepper, but they have no money and he is equally hard up.

As trade becomes more advanced, and times more peaceful, there is a vital distinction between the methods of the Northern and the Mediterranean Powers. The absolute monarchies which had grown out of the overthrow of the feudal nobility in Portugal, Spain and France reproduced themselves in the conditions under which their trade was carried on east and west, under which their colonies and dependencies arose. The trade belongs to the king. The settlements, whether of the Portuguese in the east, of the Spaniards in the west, or of the French in the north, are based on feudal grants of sovereignty from a king who had become absolute, supported by a Church which admits of no human liberty of thought.

The unity which the desperate defence of the Dutch had made necessary, the close association between the State and the people, were reflected in the close and formal relations of their East India Company to the federal State. On the other hand, the relations of the London East India Company to the Crown show the steady weakening of the feudal principle in spite of the attempts of James I to revive it. When James I offered to become a freeman of the Company,[4] the Company respectfully declined the offer in fear of falling entirely under the favour of the king. No doubt the growth of the reformed religion, which revolted against and weakened central authority, was in some degree responsible for the position of the English East India Company as a private Company, but the insular position which, unlike that of Holland, secured the country against foreign armies tended to bring about the result.

At the outset this position of independence is a source

of weakness; to this, among other causes, it is due that we were driven in the first quarter of the seventeenth century wholly out of the Malay Peninsula by the Dutch; in its later growth this very want of royal support became a strength enabling us to defeat the French both east and west. The merchants who depended on royal power were compelled to subordinate trade to royal political needs; they lost the sense of personal initiative; the free merchants pursued their trade on their own responsibility, turning their back as far as possible on European quarrels. While the king of Spain draws wealth for his own self from the Indies, the king of England does not actually take part at all. He stands outside the possible losses, taking from the profits only a share for his aid, if any, in organisation, or loans of money for his protection of the monopoly.

Here we come upon the very pith and marrow of mediaeval, we may almost say of modern, trade—monopoly. The early Company, especially to the Indies, is a trade guild, founded on the principle that "the trade of the Indies being so far remote from hence cannot be traded but in a joint and united stock." It is a monopoly granted to a body who are experts in and interested in a particular branch of commerce, men who may be trusted to consider the interests of the trade as well as those of the individual. They will employ money borrowed from other men, but they are themselves experts in the trade. Whether you study the trade guilds of the fourteenth or the Chartered Companies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the position is the same. To maintain a successful monopoly the body must comprise all the leading men in that particular trade. Then as soon as the monopoly is created there arises a perpetual conflict for the enlargement of the monopoly in favour of persons outside.

The monopoly is a necessity. The acts of any one body of venturers, unless openly avowed by the government of the nation to which they are accredited, affect all other Europeans in the Indies and other distant parts. We who still in our histories call the Norwegians, Swedes, and other dwellers in the Baltic and North Sea, "Danes,"

cannot be surprised that the people outside Western Europe saw no substantial difference between Dutch and English and other Europeans, or between different bands of either. Narvaez, trying to persuade the Mexicans that Cortes was an outlaw and he himself the accredited agent, only brings injury to all the venturers; the Muscovy Company owed its want of success to the actions of its own servants, who joined with the Dutch and Hansa against it; the first Dutch expedition suffers obloquy from the acts of Lancaster in 1591; our own East India Company after Amboyna suffers on the Indian mainland from the piratical acts of the Dutch; when in 1699 two East India Companies are operating in Hindostan at one time, the foolish and violent acts of the new one not only destroy the prosperity of both but bring punishment from the Mogul on the innocent old Company, which has no control over the offenders.

The desire for monopoly breaks in strangely on the soldiers who fought for civic and religious freedom. Though in this cause both Dutch and English have been fighting against regal autocracy, in trade whether east or west their actions are guided wholly by a spirit of monopoly. Where there is a Dutchman there is no room for an English or any other man, and vice versa. To-day, as a consequence of this struggle for a monopoly, the Dutchman possesses the Malay Archipelago, out of which he drove the English in the first quarter of the seventeenth century; the English possess all those parts of the mainland of India formerly held by the Dutch (such as Cochin), out of which they drove him in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

With the advent of capital and labour in the place of joint enterprise, another grievous difficulty arises which is the more strongly stressed when the combinations of capital become "Limited" Companies. The man who takes wages whether for one or eleven hours is never satisfied. He is inclined to believe that he can manage affairs better than the captain or merchant. If he does not call for a share of managerial responsibility, he is always trying to trade on his own account. Bardolph and Nym flourished under the capital and labour which grew up in Jacobean times;

those who took definite pay as the servants of the monopolist Company were frequently doing private trading behind the back of the employer, imitating in a humble way the methods of the captains, officials, monks, friars and soldiers who neglected the interests of the Portuguese kings for their own.

The nature of the East Indian trade encouraged such trading. The voyages were very dangerous to health and full of hardship. Where decent men would readily have volunteered if they looked to take a share of possible large profits, the men who risked all for a settled wage under harsh conditions would be most likely those who had nothing, not even a reputation, to lose; and the Company recruiting such men were in a position to screw the wages to a very insufficient level of pay. So the pay became very poor. Low wages at all times lead to poor work and dishonest dealing. Whether with the Muscovy or East India Company, the low rate of wages leads to loss by encouraging private trading and theft or fraud.

The Company replied by stringent provisions to prevent private trading by any individuals. The ordinances lay down,[5] that no private trading shall be admitted by any person employed on the voyage or permitted to go in it. Only the factors were allowed to do a limited private trading.[6] Lancaster[7] directs his subordinate officers in his absence to pay wages sparingly, holding as much as possible until the return, and to pay in commodities at their discretion. Unfortunately, the payment in commodities which cannot be earmarked lays open to the servants of the Company the possession of the Company's goods as their own. The Company soon finds[8] that the men are bringing home private stores of pepper, and that the common stock was correspondingly diminished.

The Company, through their early history, paid attention to the morals of their servants and tried to keep up a salutary discipline after the manner of a master with apprentices. There are provisions against shooting ordnance and drinking of healths on captains going ashore; there was to be no dicing, swearing, drunkenness or theft;

there were prayers night and morning. Letters to the Company's servants were signed from "your loving friends, the Company of East India Merchants." For their edification in 1611 the Company sent out to Surat the godly works of Mr. William Perkins, Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," and, possibly as a counter-irritant, "Hakluyt's Voyages."

Another great difficulty which attended the change was the conversion of the barely licensed Elizabethan buccaneers, Drake, Raleigh, Lancaster, Mainwaring, and others—the men who either went on isolated plundering raids for their own profit, paying a share to the king if they got home safe and had anything, or carried on a continuous trade of piracy on the high seas against the king's enemies or neutrals, or even their own people—into quiet, reputable traders, who used arms only when they could not otherwise attain their desired ends. Some were knighted and became officers of the Royal Navy or of the navies of other powers who required good seamen, and many settled down by degrees to trade.

There was still perpetual fighting with the Turks in the Mediterranean, with the Dutch in the East, and with other pirates in the home waters; "the times," say the letters in 1611,[9] "are very dangerous through piracies which do daily increase and abound in all parts of the seas." But trading comes first, and the use of force is a disturbance to the gains of trade. The raider might wisely use excess of force if he had little intention of coming that way again on a future raid; but when he or other traders of his Company intend to return for future trade, he has to be far more careful of violent action both as regards the natives and rival Europeans. Trade demands a warehouse for the traders' goods with a company of workers as agents who cannot be safely left at the mercy of irritated opponents of the plunderer who has gone home.

The charter constituting the London East India Company placed the authority in the hands of a governor and twenty-four committee men. It gave power to carry on exclusive trade in the East Indies for fifteen years from Christmas 1600, only excepting territories and forts in

actual possession of any Christian prince in amity with the queen. As the question of actual possession was settled by the adventurers on the spot, the exception could create little difficulty. The cargoes of the first four voyages were exempted from export duties, and time was given for payment of import duties on the return cargoes. James almost at once went outside the charter. In 1604 he gave a separate licence of discovery to one Michelborne. Michelborne went to the East, attacked the Dutch at Bantam, plundered a Chinese merchant ship, and injured in every way the prospects of English trade. In 1617 James granted a patent for a Scottish Company to Sir James Cunningham. The London Company had to pay him to recall the grant. Most probably such actions as these caused the rebellion in which Charles was murdered far more than any disputes about ship money or religion.

Up to 1610 the English Company had sent out only 17 ships, the Dutch up to 1602 had sent out 65, and after the formation of their united Company in 1602 up to 1610 another 69. The contrast shows the spirit in which the two Companies were managed, and it also shows the disadvantages under which the English Company laboured on account of its relations with King James.

CHAPTER XXII

THE EARLY TRADE AND VOYAGES OF THE COMPANIES

Section I. The First Voyages of the English and Dutch Companies

The first voyage made by the English Company is of interest as bearing on the difference between our methods in the East and those of the Mediterranean peoples, an exemplar of the means by which, in the first instance, we obtained our supremacy on the continent of India, namely an alliance with the Moslem against all other peoples whether Christian or heathen.

After the usual experiences of calms and storms and scurvy, after trading at Table Bay for sheep and oxen "in the cattels language which was never changed at the Confusion of Babell, which was moath for oxen and kine and baa for sheep," and plundering Portuguese ships on the way, the first expedition reached Achin in Sumatra in June 1602. The Moslem king of Achin was a fisherman, who had murdered the former king and his family in 1585 and usurped the throne. Elizabeth had provided her captains with letters directed in blank to be delivered to native kings; Lancaster, armed with one of these, obtained an audience. The letter ran: "Elizabeth, by the Grace of God Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defendresse of the Christian faith and religion, to the great and mightie King of Achem, etc., in the island of Sumatra, our loving Brother, Greeting. The Eternal God, etc., etc. Having respect, right noble King, to the honourable and truly royal fame which hath hither stretched of your Highness' humane and noble usage of strangers etc., etc.," she makes an offer of traffic, roundly, of

course, abusing the Portugals and Spaniards. She asks for leave to set up a factory, and proposes a treaty. The "mightie King" spoke Arabic; the negotiations were carried on through a Jew interpreter who had been picked up by Lancaster before he left England. The king, who was very wideawake, refused permission to build a fortified factory and asked why they wanted provisions for trade. Lancaster, among other reasons, gave the queen's power to protect the king against Spain, and that the Grand Signior of Turkey hath already entered into a league with her Majesty. A treaty for freedom of trade was granted, but no mention was made of a monopoly. A good deal of bickering between Lancaster, the Dutch factors and the agents of Portugal continuing, Lancaster, seeing no great opening for trade, persuaded the king to detain the Portuguese ambassador on some pretext while he put to sea to "supply his necessities." Lying in wait in the Straits of Malacca they intercepted a dromond of 900 tons, on board which, says the narrator, were above 600 persons, men, women, and children. After transferring her cargo to their own ship, a great storm coming on, they turned her adrift. Lancaster, says the narrator, "was very glad of this help and very thankful to God for it, and, as he told me, he was much bound to God, who had eased him of a heavy care, and that he could not be thankful enough to Him for this blessing given him."

He went back to Achin, gave the king some of the loot, and after singing the Psalms of David with him, and taking from him a letter to the "Sultana of the Kingdom of England, Ireland, Holland and Friesland," written in the year 1011 of Mahomet, he laded his ship and set sail for Bantam. Here the English did a good deal of trade at more favourable prices than at Achin, and, leaving some agents at Bantam, set sail for home in February 1603. They met with fearful storms on the way past the Cape, their rudder being broken several times; they anchored in the Downs on September 11, 1603.

These newcomers to the East, both English and Dutch, found the profits of this trade very great but very difficult to realise. The profit of this and of the next voyage was

95 per cent., but it was spread over some nine years before it was fully paid up.

A great contributory cause for the establishment of the East India Company had been that the Dutch had forced up the price of pepper against the English from three to six or eight shillings a pound. But now the sales of pepper and other goods were hindered by competing Dutch goods at lower prices.[1] Lancaster realised this, and instructed his agents at Bantam to sell to the Dutch if they have a store of pepper, and the Dutch ships come and the price rises.[1] There was always loss not only by bad spices and adulteration, but by heating or damp on the voyage,[1] and by pepper left in storage losing weight by drying. The first English expedition reached home at an unfortunate time. Plague was raging, making cash and purchasers scarce. Any sales had to be made on very long credits. As the Company was compelled to raise money to pay off the crews, they were driven to divide the pepper among the subscribers to peddle it out for themselves.

The dividends of the Dutch Company were: 1605, 15 per cent.; 1606, 75 per cent.; 1607, 40 per cent.; 1608, 20 per cent.; 1609, 25 per cent.; 1610, 50 per cent.; 1613, 37 per cent. In 1622 they paid a dividend of 25 per cent. in cloves.[2]

In all respects the Dutch in this new trading competition had the advantage over the English. Before Philip closed the ports the Portuguese had built up Lisbon as the market for Eastern goods, allowing all to trade there. They made Antwerp the warehouse and market for the north, as Bruges, owing to the silting up of its estuary and its internal troubles, had decayed. Antwerp became the clearing-house between England and the East. While the Devon men had been expending energy in piratical raids on the Azores and trade routes to the East, the Dutch had been long engaged as recognised carriers of the East India trade from Lisbon to the north of Europe as a legitimate business. They were not only more experienced, but better organised for trade; they had suffered a much more severe education in defence of their homes, invaded both by sea and by land; they had been accustomed to the need for fortifying posts against an

invader; the capture of the East India trade was to them a far more urgent vital necessity; and, having through the Hansa a large share of the Baltic trade, they could bend all their energies to this new venture without being drawn off either to the Dwina or to Hudson Bay. They had early appreciated, at a time when kings thought it no shame to ignore their debts, the great value of good credit. They entered the trade with more money, better organisation, larger fleets, and, as it seems to me, with a better will to secure the monopoly of the trade than the British.

Organised by and under the State, governed by a Board of sixty directors appointed as to number according to the subscription of each State, the Dutch began at once as a sovereign body to build fortified factories in the East, and to make treaties with native kings such as those of Johore, Bantam and Ternate. They asked for no leave for freedom of trade; their treaties left to the native kings all the powers of internal government; but they laid down at once as a principle that their monopoly, like that formerly of the Portuguese, was to be supreme in the Moluccas; they prohibited any trading with outside people, especially the English, and allowed no voyages to the mainlands of Asia.

They had also superior knowledge of geography and paid better attention to accurate map-making, which, combined with practical good sense, led them to seize strategic points such as Achin. In 1599 they had gone to Amboyna, where the English tried to break down their monopoly; they made reprisals. In fact, for the Portuguese monopoly they substituted a far more tyrannous monopoly of the Dutch Republic. The Dutch in the East, says Hunter, rested on slavery and the slave trade, an absolute despotism over the natives, the import and purchase of slaves, and entire monopoly for Holland.

Confronted by this solid and well organised system of East India trade, the efforts of the English Company wavered between an attempt to obtain a share of the island trade, an attempt to obtain a share of the Portuguese trade on the mainland of India, the opening of trade with the Mogul in India, and trade with the Moslems in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea.

Another early voyage worth noticing, as an example of the English difficulties, is that of Sir Henry Middleton in 1610. Middleton went with three ships—*The Trade's Increase*, a new large ship; the *Peppercorn*, commanded by Captain Downton; and the *Darling*. His instructions gave as the most desirable commodities for home cargoes—in addition, of course, to pepper and spices—indigo, calicoes white and light-coloured, strasses, cinnamon, cotton yarn, green ginger, red sandalwood, "turbithe," opium, benjamin, sal ammoniac, olibanum, lignum, aloes, worm seeds, gum lac, and Persian silk. Instead of going direct to the East, the ships entered the Red Sea, the *Peppercorn* being stationed at Aden to hold up and trade with the Indian ships from the East, while Middleton, in the *Trade's Increase*, went to Mocha. But, notwithstanding their friendship for the Turk, the local pasha attacked them both at Mocha and Aden, and took Middleton and a number of men prisoners. After they had escaped they sailed to Surat, where they found eighteen frigates of the Portuguese, which prevented them approaching to trade. After a great deal of fencing and attempts to get in they began to fight, but it came to nothing. There was thorough distrust on all sides, "being acquainted," the narrator says, "with the perfidious dealings of these people"—that is, the Indians whose lands they had invaded.

However, Maccrab Khan, the Mogul's viceroy at Surat, came on board the *Trade's Increase*, but refused to consider any question of general trade, only picking out such things as he wanted for himself. When, after a time, Middleton did get to business with the Indians, they quarrelled over the price and, as he could not get what he wanted, he held the Mogul's viceroy in the ship as a hostage. Unable to do business, they went to Swally and then to Dabul, but still without trade. Here merchant ships came by, out of which Middleton took what he desired, setting crews and passengers ashore.

Then they sailed for Socotra and, leaving the *Peppercorn* at Aden to prevent the ships from India entering the Red Sea to trade, Middleton went in with the intention of retaliating on the Turk. Here he entered into a quarrel with

Captain Saris, who had come out with another three ships from England, as to whether they should force compensation from the Turk or rob the Indian ships in the Red Sea. The *Peppercorn*, after plundering the Indian ships outside, joined them and, unable to reach the Turk, they took their compensation from the Indian ships.

Then they sailed for Tiku, on the west coast of Sumatra, where they hear of fifteen Dutch ships and two from Newhaven (?) in France. Seeing no prospect of trade, Middleton tried bribery. But although the presents were received, " between uncivil blockishness and pride together," nothing came of it. When at length they bought pepper, they found it was mixed with rice, stones and rotten stuff. At length Downton was sent home in the *Peppercorn*. After a most terrible voyage by contrary winds and approaching famine, they made Waterford, and reached Blackwall in November 1613, having lost twenty out of the forty-six men since leaving Bantam. Sir Henry Middleton died at Bantam, and the *Trade's Increase* was burnt there as unseaworthy.

The English from the first had no chance in the islands against the Dutch. They had less money, fewer men, were worse armed, and sent out fewer ships. The English captains were still far too much inclined to indulge in Drake and Hawkins acts of violence and plunder in the place of legitimate trade, detrimental to their reputations as honest traders. James, dickering over the Spanish marriage, not only gave the English no support, but destroyed any unity of purpose from religion, leaving England and Holland in the East as commercial rivals only. In 1609, while James was treating with Spain, the Dutch sent out Pieter Both as Governor with eight ships. He made a series of treaties with the Malay kings to exclude the British. In 1611 the Company supplicated the Treasurer, Lord Salisbury, for help, and approached the Dutch with proposals for mutual trade. Then followed a series of conferences in England and Holland, as foolish, as inept and worthless as anything attempted in that direction since 1918. The Dutch saw that the English were a greater danger to their trade than the Portuguese, and that they could not persuade James to

break with Spain.[3] The English Company on their part, being a private trading Company, was unwilling to spend money like the Dutch on forts and troops. Under such conditions of violence and contention, " the English prisoners being publicly shewn in chains," it was impossible for two rival trading Companies to continue. As a result of the superiority of the Dutch, the indifference of James and the helplessness of Charles, and the resolute will of the Dutch to establish a monopoly at all costs, the English were driven entirely out of the Malay Archipelago in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the last blow being the massacre of Amboyna in 1623.

Section II. The Massacre of Amboyna

This massacre coloured the relations of Britain and Holland for a hundred years after. Though their grip on the islands had been gradually failing them, the British had kept a slight hold on this important point. At the time of the massacre there were in Amboyna and the adjoining islands 18 English only, practically unarmed. The Dutch held a fort with a force of 200 Dutch and 300 native soldiers and 8 ships. Van Speult, the Dutch Governor, set up a story of a plot by the 18 English to seize the fort from the Dutch. By means of torture of some Japanese soldiers in the service of the Dutch, and of an English barber who was in gaol for arson, they made up a story on which they arrested the 18 Englishmen and executed them, mostly on confessions obtained by prolonged and awful torture, confessions revoked as soon as the torture was relaxed. No evidence of any description whatever in support of the accusation was found on the men or on any part of their premises. For example, one John Clarke was tortured by burning him with candles on the feet, hands, elbows and " under the armpits until his inwards might evidently be seen." The English declared that no surgeon was allowed to dress the sores, " until his flesh being putrified great maggots dropt and crept from him in most loathsome and noisome manner." [4] This was only one of several devilish forms of torture used,

some being much worse even than this. Then in February 1623 ten of them were led in procession round the town and executed.

The news reached England fifteen months later and roused the nation to absolute fury. Immediate redress was demanded from James. But it was not convenient to give it; James was at that moment negotiating a treaty with the Dutch against Spain and he dared not move. When the universal indignation of the people forced him to appear to take action, he got no farther than words and threats. He had himself tortured so many people, such as the Puritan Peacham and old women accused of witchcraft, that he may have had a sympathy with his Dutch friends. On March 25, 1625, he died.

Charles, very angry at his treatment when in Spain courting the Infanta, wanting the alliance with Holland against Spain, promised in September 1625 not to make any reprisals on Dutch ships for eighteen months, at the end of which he would insist on them. Then followed his unsuccessful war with France and his disputes with Parliament; and the Dutch, seeing that they had to do with men who wanted more conferences, held out. After this Charles was never able, owing to the refusal of Parliament to grant him sufficient funds for executive government, to enforce his will on the Dutch. The matter remained until Cromwell, not being limited by law or Parliament, and having money, a large standing army, and the fleet provided by the Ship Money which had caused Charles's downfall, forced the Dutch in 1654, after a war, to pay £85,000 to the London Company (which he promptly borrowed) and £3615 to the heirs of the men who had been tortured and murdered. One part of the settlement bore important consequences. The English were, it was agreed, to hold the little island of Pularoon (4.30 S., 130 E.). But as the Dutch had destroyed, before handing it over, all the spice trees it was valueless, and was exchanged later for the Dutch interest in a settlement called New Amsterdam, now the town of New York, in the U.S.A.

For some years before the final catastrophe of Amboyna

completed the expulsion of the English from the Archipelago, they had been working to establish trade on the mainland of Hindostan. As far back as 1599 an emissary had been sent to the Mogul Akbar, and in 1607 a Captain Hawkins had gone from the Company to the Court of Jehangir to beg for permission to trade at Surat. This was granted, Hawkins agreeing to marry a maiden out of the Mogul's palace. But the Portuguese at Surat contrived that the grant should be revoked. Then in 1612 Captain Best with two ships anchored off Surat with the intention of trading. Four Portuguese galleons, accompanied by twenty-five rowed frigates, prevented him from approaching the harbour. A scrambling fight followed among sandbanks and shallows, in which the Portuguese galleons, whose shooting seems to have been very poor, got aground, and they had the worst of it. The English ships put to sea and left them for Diu. Two days later there was another fight, in which it does not appear that either side took or sunk any ships; but the English had the wind and were close inshore.[5]

The Mogul's officials and troops watched the fight from the shore and drew their own conclusions. They had no reason to love the Portuguese, and competition and ill feeling between the Europeans were all in their favour. To them both sides were pirates, the "pagan army" of the Viking. In January 1613 the English received the long-sought firman, giving them the privilege of trade and a promise to protect their factory. The English East India Company began the career which is at present expressed in the domination of the British over the whole Indian Peninsula.

Section III. Woollen and Sea Power in Northern India

Two causes contributed to the drift of the English trader to the more northern market. One was the character of the goods to be exchanged, the other the use which could be made of English sea power. The reasons for the

repeated attempts to settle the northern part of the continent of America, and to open up trade with Russia by way of Archangel, were undoubtedly the search for a passage to the Indies without interference from Spain or Portugal, the search for the shortest route to the East, the hope of finding new sources of the precious metals, the wish to lessen England's dependence on the Hansa for materials for shipping, the want of timber already beginning to be felt, and lastly the opening up of a new market for English woollen goods.

This last, the desire for a market for woollen goods, was of great importance in the history of the East India Company. Wool was one of the few English commodities available for export, and as such was a cause of trouble and loss to the Company, and a ground of jealousy by the wool-growers at home. (Appendix O.) The political economists of those days had not yet been able to divest their minds of the belief that the export of the precious metals made the nation poor, even with the lesson before them of the bankruptcy of Spain, and they insisted upon the export by the Company of woollen cloth in the place of specie. The Company in 1628 made a sensible remonstrance to Parliament against the charge of the export of coin to the detriment of the nation. Since England had neither gold nor silver mines, they said, it could only get money by "making our commodities which are exported to overbalance in value the wares which we consume. . . . It is not the keeping of our money in the kingdom which makes a quick and ample trade, but the necessity and use of our wares in foreign countries and our want of their commodities which causeth the vent and consumption on all sides."[6] But their remonstrance was of no avail. Parliament was too busy trying to deprive the king of the means of government on various pretexts to pay attention to such an unimportant thing as trade.

The king had to provide the military force necessary to support the Company in its disputes with its rivals, so he for his part expected something from it beyond the customs. Charles had promised in 1628 to hold the Dutch

ships in reprisal for Amboyna, but as the "patriot" would not vote him money for the expenses of administration he took a bribe of £30,000 from the Dutch and let them go. The blame lies on the men who refused supplies. Seven years later, for the same cause, Charles allowed himself to be joined in a venture outside the Company with William Courten, Paul Pindar and Endymion Porter, who were always willing to advance money to the needy king. The ships went out without a cargo and seized an Indian ship in the Red Sea, for which the servants of the Company at Surat were imprisoned. They behaved so badly in Canton that the Chinese declared the English enemies of the empire and expelled them. They also attempted armed settlement, in Madagascar, Mauritius, and Malabar. The true Company were between the devil and the deep sea. Charles could do nothing for them, and Parliament, regarding them as a royal monopoly, passed them by. The much-cried-up tyrant Cromwell had no such need of money or troops or ships. But he did no better by the Company. The proud history of the East India Company is the story of the dogged perseverance of a body of private merchants hampered or deserted by the State, competing with most powerful rivals who were so supported, driven from one point after another, but succeeding in the end against tremendous odds by careful attention to the details of business.

Under such conditions as these the pressure upon the Company to restrict the export of coin and to export woollen goods to the tropical East was continuous. The Company was denounced as bringing silk and cotton to the injury of the English woollen trade, and they were prejudiced even in that part of their business by competition with the cheaper and better silk from the Levant, as well as by the hot climate of the tropics, which told against any use of woollen. For these reasons the export of woollen never paid the Company, who had to make their profits on the export of other articles such as tin and lead, and on the imports from India, the export of woollen becoming, as it were, a premium paid for their monopoly. But the

necessity for handling it inclined them to consolidate their settlements farther to the north, away from the tropics.

By the time that the invention of the spinning-jenny enabled the Manchester factories to compete with Indian cottons by producing a thread strong enough to form warp and weft, the English were well settled in northern Hindostan.

The other cause of the English success in the north was their naval service. The Dutch had put all their energies into obtaining a monopoly of the trade in the Spice Islands, driving out both Portuguese and English; the Portuguese, exhausted by their struggle of centuries, their navy and their credit alike ruined by Spain, were endeavouring, as against Dutch, English, and Eastern rulers, to preserve such possessions and trade scattered over all the East as were left to them.

The English sought to establish trading posts on both sides of the mainland of India, not like the Dutch or Portuguese as a power claiming sovereignty or monopoly, but as private traders humbly seeking the protection of the native rulers. It was on these coasts of the mainland that the English traders were to gain an inheritance for the islands by the value of their sea power to the rulers of Hindostan.

When Vasco da Gama had first landed at Calicut he found no central authority controlling any part of India. In the south there were independent rulers possessing considerable sea power and leagued with the Turks against the European intruders. By the time the English Company obtained leave to settle at Surat conditions had wholly changed. They did so under the protection and by licence of a great Mohammedan power controlling the entire continent as far south as the Narbada River, and constantly encroaching on all its neighbours. It was a power intensely jealous of the Portuguese or Dutch, a power which, being military, was glad to welcome the ships of these English traders, who claimed no sovereignty, as agents to keep the seas free from the pirates who, in the decadence of Portuguese seamanship, infested the seas, and to police

the pilgrim Red Sea route to Mecca as against the Portuguese themselves. The English Company grew up under the protection of the Moguls and as their naval mercenaries. In 1622 they helped the Moslem to drive the Portuguese out of the fortress of Ormuz. They contracted to keep open the pilgrim route. But the Eastern ruler could not be expected to make any distinction between different branches of the "pagan army," Danes or Norsemen, any more than the mediaeval chroniclers of Europe. So when after Amboyna the Dutch acted piratically, not having felt the heavy hand of the Mogul, the English factories in Surat were seized and the officials imprisoned for months for the Dutch iniquities. In the same way, from 1698 onwards, when two rival English companies were operating in India, the folly of the officials of the new Company who accused those of the old Company to the Mogul as thieves and pirates, and refused themselves to clear the seas of the real pirates, only produced imprisonment and seizure of the officials of the old Company and their goods. It is a repetition of the story of the Norsemen in the west, of their disorderly trading and their raids, and their use as sea mercenaries by the native ruler who was only too willing to use one against the other. Their customs dues, as a reason for bearing with them, were also of great value to the Mogul.

Luckily for Great Britain, the shameful neglect of the navy by James, the decayed ports, naval stores, guns and ships, the unpaid seamen, the disused officers, did not greatly affect the East India trade, except that the Company could expect no help from home. Corruption and inefficiency so entirely destroyed the navy in James's day that, even after the Naval Commission of 1618 had started a revival, Charles when he came to the throne and revived the navy was unable to make head against the continuous record of carelessness and fraud, combined with the refusal by Parliament to find the money necessary for national action. But while the navy had decayed the merchant service continued greatly to enlarge its material and its scope of action. It is to our merchant service that

we owe our Empire, not to State initiative or military repression. "It is not our swords but our sails," says "The Treasure of Traffic" (1641, reprinted 1856 in "Select Collection of Early English Tracts on Commerce"), "that first spread the English name in Barbary, and thence came into Turkey, Armenia, Muscovia, Arabia, Persia, India, China, and indeed over and about the world. It is the traffic of their merchants and the boundless desires of their nation to eternize the English honour and name that hath induced them to sail and seek into all the corners of the earth."

So while Charles I was trying to remodel the navy by the ship money fleets in face of Dutch competition and a great revival of French shipping, and while the decadent Puritan was doing his utmost to thwart the king's projects and to injure the national trade, the merchants in the East struggled on by themselves to hold their own against rivals, under the protection of the Mogul emperors and the lesser kings of the Carnatic. It is time that we said a word or two about this great Eastern Empire which from henceforth accompanies us throughout our history.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE MOGUL EMPIRE

The peninsula of India from the earliest historical times has been invaded continuously from the north-west through the passes of the Himalayas. Each immigration, whether Greek, Persian, or Tartar, Pagan or Moslem, left as the wave receded a varying sediment along the banks of the Indus and Sutlej and on the southern slopes of the mountain ranges. There was also an early Moslem invasion by sea from Arabia. In 712 Mohammed Kasim stormed the port at the mouth of the Indus, now Karachi, and, going up to Moultan, took it, accompanying both actions with wholesale massacre. The primeval Jats and other tribes, who had been subdued by the Hindoos, joined on the side of the Moslem invaders against their Hindoo masters. These last, both men and women equally, are said to have fought with conspicuous bravery and desperation. Nothing came of this Arab wave of sword and Koran. The conquest was abandoned except for an occasional settlement on the banks of the Indus.

After this, successive Moslem invasions of India came through the passes of the north-west from Central Asia. In 977 an invasion from Ghazni through the Khyber Pass led to an imperial rule over the north-west of India under a Ghaznivide dynasty, of which Mahmud (1000–1026) was the chief name. This lasted until about 1187, when the dynasty was overthrown by the following of one Mohammed Ghori, who set up a subsidiary Moslem king at Delhi. Aibak, a Mameluke slave of Mohammed Ghori, began in 1206 the slave dynasty of Delhi, which lasted until 1526. In the thirteenth century the Tartar following of Genghis Khan and his successors several times invaded northern India,

the Moslems in possession fighting and checking the invaders, while on the other hand they held down the Hindoos with savage sternness. In the last years of the fourteenth century (? 1398) Timur or Tamerlane swooped down on the passes, sacked Delhi, made a fearful massacre, and marched back to Turkestan. If you ask yourselves why these invasions led to so little result, ask also why nothing came of Crecy or Poitiers or Agincourt. The answer is much the same for both. One cause was the uncertainty of hereditary succession, leading to revolts at home under new claimants as soon as the possessive ruler was removed to a distance; another the chronic discontent of the troops at the amount of the loot and the hardships, and their desire to go back to enjoy the spoil at home.

The kings of Delhi became rulers under Turkish or Afghan emperors, and continued to rule north-western India until 1526. Meanwhile, under all the changes the fighting Rajput highland clans remained independent, and the patient Hindoo cultivator continued to till the soil, and to worship his gods, and to alleviate as far as possible by diplomatic submission and deceit and omission and avoidance—by all the vices with which an alien conqueror endows an enslaved race and then reproaches him for possessing—the heavy burdens which the waves of warriors who destroyed but did not work brought upon him.

In 1526 Babar, the first of a great series of great rulers, successfully invaded the north-west of India and founded the Mogul Empire. He has left us his memoirs, written originally in the Tartar or Tûrki language of Turkestan, one of the world's classics.[1] It is well worth while to dwell over his story for a few moments for many reasons. It is of very great interest in itself; the character of the man was very remarkable. But I think its chief interest is that Babar's life is an epitome of the history of Central Asia at the time, for long before, and for long after, as it affects India; and circumstances have not so far changed but that it expresses to a considerable extent the conditions of the countries beyond the British north-west frontier to-day.

He had invaded or raided India three or four times previously without permanent result, his retirement arising from affairs at Cabul or elsewhere requiring his attention, or because want of supplies, or the condition of the horses and camels, or discontent among the troops made retreat advisable. That in the end he succeeded was a tribute to his personal character. But it also emphasises the school of hardship and restraint in which he had been trained. After a life of varied experience, leaning more to failure than to success, he had, as the editor of his memoirs remarks, " been taught by the voice of events that could not lie that he was a man dependent on the kindness and fidelity of other men ; and in his dangers and escapes with his followers had learned that he was only one of an association whose general safety and success depended on the result of their mutual exertions in a common cause."

On his father's side Babar was descended directly from Timur the Tartar, who ruled in Turkestan and had his capital at Samarcand. On his mother's side he was descended from Ghengis Khan, the Mogul, whose dominions extended from the far north to the Hindu Kush Mountains, bounded on the east by the Caspian Sea and on the west by the deserts of Gobi and the Chinese Empire.

It is a strange irony that the empire founded by him in India should have been called Mogul. Though descended from both the Jaghatai Tartars and from the Moguls, he loved the Turks and despised the Moguls who were always mutinying and treacherous. Some of his worst failures occurred through their defection. Quoting his verses, he says :

If the Mogul race were a race of angels, it is a bad race,
And were the name Mogul written in gold, it would be odious.

. . . . . .

Take care not to pluck an ear of corn from a Mogul's harvest,
The Mogul seed is such that whatever is sowed with it is execrable.

But Mogul for the central Asiatic nations answered to Danes for the tenth-century Norwegians. It was the

general term in use. Babar was compelled to make use of them in his armies. As there was no fixed rule of succession among the tribes, the leader of an army was always liable to sudden desertion of his forces for those of the enemy, a desertion often suffered by Babar from the Moguls.

At twelve years of age Babar, on the death of his father, succeeded to the little kingdom of Ferghana, now represented on our maps by Kokan. His city was Andejan, a town in a fertile valley on the higher reaches of the Sirr River, 500 miles or so north-east of Cabul. North of his little kingdom were only wandering tribes. Ferghana, itself a fruitful country of crops, fruits, flowers and game, was broken up by stretches of desert and surrounded by ranges of great mountains.

It is from the little countries, whether they are small tribal societies under a strong hand such as Babar's, or the small naval states peopled by stalwart seamen such as ancient Greece, or England, Holland and Portugal, that the successful invasions of great empires come.

At the time of his accession, 1495, the Sultans of the surrounding territories were Babar's uncles. But he had at once to fight for his succession, which he did successfully. The women, especially his mother and grandmother, played a great part. These descendants of Timur were no mere savages, though they waged war savagely, making after a victory, like the Aztecs of Mexico, " minarets " of the skulls of the vanquished. They had considerable literary accomplishments, using the composition of poetry as a study for great men like the Norse Vikings and Troubadours of Provence. But just as the language of the Troubadours and the Norse of the Sagas gave way before the monastic Latin and French of the settled peoples of the West, Tûrki, the literary tongue of Turkistan at the time in which Babar wrote his memoirs and his poems, gave way before Arabic and Persian. These Tartar rulers played chess and backgammon, and Babar mentions playing cards.[2]

Babar is throughout very observant on the natural features of the different countries, making many pertinent

remarks on the fruits and flowers, on the value of the different pastures for the horses owing to the presence or absence of mosquitoes, on the animals, the game, the modes of hunting and fowling, the timber and the watercourses and irrigation.

Medicine was as far from being a science as in Europe, and the planetary superstitions ruled men's actions as in the West. When his mother was seized with fever and bled without effect, the physicians gave her water-melons "according to the practice of Khorassan." She was received into the mercy of God. It is a moot point whether the great conquerors or the great physicians are most responsible for the check to population. Again, he engages in battle without waiting for reinforcements and is completely defeated. "The cause of my eagerness to engage was that the eight stars were on that day exactly between the two armies; and if I had suffered that day to elapse they would have continued favourable to the enemy for the space of thirteen or fourteen days." But his good sense (he was only nineteen or twenty) gets the better, and he proceeds: "These observances are all nonsense and my precipitation was without the least solid excuse."

His literary tendency does not lead him to ignore the physical side of life. He tells of men of great prowess at polo and leapfrog and of great personal feats of arms of all sorts with stones, arrows, swords, and even fists. He himself had great strength; he would leap from one point of the battlements to another, carrying a man under each arm. He does not say what happened to the men if he made a false step. He notes the strict ceremony and discipline in the Mogul armies, the same position in the army being handed down from father to son; he tries to enforce discipline himself. One of his men, having carried off a jar of oil from some person by force, "I ordered him to be brought out and beaten with sticks. He expired under the punishment."

The one great vice among these Tartar Moslems seems to have been drinking. Of one man, Babar says, he would

drink for twenty or thirty days at a stretch; of another, he was excessively addicted to drinking wine, but during the times he did not drink was regular in the performance of his prayers. Of himself as one instance: "About the time of noonday prayers I mounted to take a ride, and afterwards going on board a boat we had a drinking bout. We continued drinking spirits in the boat until bedtime prayers, when, being completely drunk, we mounted and came at full gallop back to the camp, falling sometimes on one side of the horse and sometimes on the other. I was miserably drunk." Hearing that a woman wished to drink with them, he said, "I have never seen a woman drink wine. Call her to be of the party." But when she came the woman "was very riotous with me; at last I threw myself down as if completely drunk and so escaped." He appears to have tried to give up drinking when he had succeeded in his invasion, probably finding the effect more serious in the hot climate of the south.

In 1497 he attacked and took Samarcand, the city founded by Alexander the Great, a city which showed how much of Persian and Arab culture Timur's descendants had absorbed. It was a centre of Arab civilisation, having beautiful palaces, mosques, and colleges, a pavilion overlaid with Chinese porcelain, and a great observatory built by Ulugh Beg, who had constructed valuable astronomical tables.[3]

But Babar fell ill and his men deserted him. He heard that he had lost Andejan and Ferghana, and, leaving Samarcand on an expedition to recover it which is unsuccessful, he finds on his return that he has lost Samarcand also. After a while he recovers Andejan, and in 1501 he again takes Samarcand. But there is a regular see-saw of disbandment and desertion. If either side give leave to troops to go home, the other is reinforced. It will be seen how impossible it was for Jenkinson to travel east beyond Bokhara a few years later.

In 1503, after a series of disasters and misfortunes in which he does not appear to shine either as a general or strategist, he was driven finally from Ferghana when in

his twenty-third year, and wandered, poor, with very few followers, to the south.

Then in 1504 he seized and became king of the city of Cabul, now one of the chief towns of Afghanistan. It is from Cabul that his invasions of Hindostan take place. Cabul, he tells us, was a great emporium for Indian goods, for cloths, sugar and spices.

With Babar began an empire which first as a reality and afterwards as a titular rule lasted until it became absorbed into the British Empire. It was under the contemptuous protection of the early Moguls that the East India Company gained its foothold on the continent; it is as the successor of the titular emperor in the anarchy that the British sovereign became emperor of India.[4]

After Babar had defeated in a great battle at Panipat, a spot near Delhi famous for decisive victories, an immense army of Sultan Ibrahim, the reigning emperor and head of the Afghan Moslems, in which the Sultan was killed, he had, like his predecessors and his successors, to encounter the Rajputs, the clans of highland warriors, united by ties of kinship to the chief, occupying the north-west, and the Bengal armies which were allied with the Afghans of Behar. He totally defeated both, but when in 1530 he died he had impressed his rule only on the Punjab and the north-west provinces. When thirty years later Akbar became Mogul the Rajputs were still independent in the north-west, and the Afghan Moslems still held the Ganges valley and Bengal.

Babar tells us that when he conquered Hindostan five Moslem and two pagan kings ruled in India: (1) the kingdom of the Afghans in Delhi; (2) the kingdom of Gujerat; (3) of the Bahmanis in the Deccan; (4) of Malwa or Mandu; (5) of Bengal; (6) the pagan raja of Bijnagar; (7) Rana Sanka of Chitor. Although he had a great contempt for Hindostan as a country, or professed it, he appreciates the beautiful Hindoo architecture and notes their great courage in battle. When he attacked Chanderi in Malwa, then subject to Rana Sanka, the pagans, he tells us, showed most desperate courage, killing

all their women in desperation and throwing themselves naked on the foe. The houses, he says, were of hewn stone, beautiful and capacious; and he notes the singularly beautiful palaces of the rajas at Gwalior with their great domes.

Great empires seldom acquire stability without having to undergo a sharp preliminary struggle. Humayun, the son and successor of Babar, was made to feel the insecurity of the new conquests soon after his accession. Bahadur Shah, king of Gujerat and Malwa, was extending his territory northward at the expense of the Rajputs. In 1534, provided with siege guns worked by Portuguese gunners, he besieged and stormed Chitor. Humayun looked on, quite willing for the southern king to do his work for him. Chitor taken, Bahadur took possession. But as Humayun's troops controlled the surrounding country, Bahadur's army gradually faded away in the fortress and Bahadur fled to Diu, leaving Gujerat and Malwa in the hands of Humayun. But they went back to Bahadur, as soon as Humayun went north, to Diu, where he had allowed the Portuguese to build a fort which they still hold.

Meanwhile, one Sher Khan was subduing Bengal, and Humayun went north to assert his supremacy over the yet unconquered Afghans of the Ganges valley. Following Sher Khan into Bengal, Humayun's army was cut off in the passes, surprised and destroyed at Buxar. Humayun escaped alone and spent fifteen years in exile, during which his son Akbar was born. In 1555 he succeeded in overthrowing the dynasty of Sher Khan and came back to Delhi, where he died in 1556. He was succeeded by Akbar, one of the really great rulers of all time—not only a great ruler but a man humane and liberal in his views whether of politics or theology, conciliatory towards his Hindoo subjects, advanced in his views of government, working incessantly for purity of administration, and with great literary and aesthetic tastes. He was *very* modern. He did all he could to abolish suttee, he abolished trial by ordeal, the marriage of infants, he allowed widows to marry again, he removed the poll tax on Hindoos and on Hindoo

pilgrims, putting the Hindoos very much on a level with their Moslem conquerors. He himself married, as one of his wives, a Hindoo princess, the daughter of the rajah of Jaipur, a Rajput.

He attempted a complete measurement of all the land, and with it a restraint of the peculation and oppression by officials, and he arranged for a periodical revision of the land tax. The finance system introduced by his minister, Todar Mal, is the basis of British taxation to-day.

Akbar was very moderate in his religious views, inclined to look upon all religions as good, which no doubt would lead him to lean to England rather than to orthodox Portugal with, at this time, her hideous Inquisition at Goa. After 1580, towards the latter part of his reign, he assumed the power of expounding doubts of theology above the religious heads of the Moslem creed.

Akbar was successful in his wars in the enlargement of his empire. At his accession the Bengalees had taken Delhi and advanced against him with a great army. He defeated them wholly at Panipat. He took Ahmedabad, Baroda and Cambay, and the fort of Surat, and in 1599 he attempted the conquest of the south. He died in 1605, just as the English were beginning their trading expeditions to the East. Akbar was succeeded by his son Jehangir, or Selim, an able ruler, but in every respect the inferior of his great father.

In 1615 Sir Thomas Roe went as ambassador to his court. At this time the English had no hold even on Surat, except as cringing and despised traders at the mercy of the local officials. Sir Thomas Roe altered all that. In all these disputes between the native officials and the English, Dutch and Portuguese, it is the personality of the agent, not the nationality, which tells. The Mogul neither knew nor cared what the distinctions of government or language were of these blocks of Europeans. His only interest lay in what could be extracted from them for revenue. It was the courage and pride of Roe which carried him through. He did not succeed in getting a treaty signed, but he obtained orders giving the English

a right to trade at Surat. They were still liable to oppression and plunder by the officials. Yet Roe objects to the use of force in reply, which he thinks is inconsistent with trade. He goes to the bottom of the whole matter when he writes: "It is the beggaring of the Portugal notwithstanding his rich residences and territories that he keeps soldiers who spend it; yet his garrisons are mean"; and the same, he says, is the error of the Dutch.

His voice is the same as Almeida's: "If you will profit, seek it at sea and in quiet trade; for without controversy it is an error to affect garrisons and wars in India." On the contrary, Albuquerque, Jan Pieterzoon, Coen and Dupleix all attempted land empire. In all Roe's efforts he had to meet the enmity of the Dutch. He left Jehangir's court in 1618.

I do not propose to follow in detail the wars and vicissitudes of the Moguls. Jehangir (1605–1627) warred with his son, Shah Jehan. He was the son of a Rajput princess largely Indian in blood and, like his father, liberal in religious matters. Shah Jehan (1628–1658) carried the empire to its height, conquering in the south Bijapur and Golconda, and turning the Portuguese out of Hugli.[5] But when, in 1657, he was believed to be dying his sons set up a civil war, and his son Aurungzebe, having got rid of his four brothers and deposed his father, who died in 1666, became emperor (1659–1707). He was a bigoted orthodox Moslem. Under him the break-up of the empire (as with Spain under Philip II) began. He repealed the liberal measures of his predecessors and persecuted the Hindoos. The unity and safety of the empire had only been made possible by the religious tolerance shown by the early Moguls. As it weakened it extended north and south, as all empires do from fear, so that when in his reign the struggle came with the Mahrattas he had entirely lost the support of the Rajput Hindoos. After his death his son, Bahadur Shah (1707–1712), the last of the strong Moguls, had to fight the Mahrattas holding the country from Goa to the south, the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Jats.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE EARLY STRUGGLES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Section I. The Desperate Condition of the Company

Besides their trading post at Surat, the Company attempted settlements on the south-east coast of India in the territories of the king of Golconda, and on the north-east coast on the great rivers of Bengal. These three ventures grew into the three Presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal. In each of these the servants of the Company, acting as private traders, and not as claiming territorial possessions, grew and prospered under the protection of the Indian rulers. On the Bombay coast, says Hunter, we were sheltered by the power of the Moguls; on the Coromandel coast we were sheltered by the walls of Madras and gained from the wars waged by the coast rajas and the Moslem kings of Golconda and Bijapur; in Bengal we were controlled by viceroys who were practically independent.

Yet in spite of their humble attitude to the native rulers they were, in the years following on the massacre of Amboyna, nearly driven completely out of the East.[1] They had been driven out of Japan, where in 1613 Captain Saris had obtained leave to set up a factory; they had been expelled from all parts of the Malay Archipelago; they had been turned out of Masulipatam on the east coast by the native governors; they held their post at Surat subject to plunder and oppression. Here they had to combat the Dutch as well as the Portuguese, and they were troubled by the private trading of their servants, who, if they failed, either became a burden on the Company or turned Moslem to avoid starvation.[2]

At home the credit of the Company was so bad that as a Company they could not borrow, and they could only obtain from individual members a fifth of the contributions necessary for a yearly voyage.[3] The ruler, whether Charles or Cromwell, did less than nothing for them. Finally, unlike the pioneer adventurers of the heroic age, the servants of the Company in India were not free agents, but were subject at moments of the direst peril to the orders of the officials at home, timid and selfish as are all the officials of a Company, representing the interests only of those at home who had advanced the money.

The pioneer adventurer had been willing to risk his all. The Company, like a republic or any other form of democracy, checked and opposed any expenditure however essential which was likely adversely to affect its dividends.

That our trade in the East ever continued, that it grew and blossomed into Empire, we owe for the most part to the stubborn steadfastness of the poorly paid men on the spot, who held on grimly for their employers in spite of every disadvantage which could fall upon brave men—the splendid men, merchant seamen and the clerks and writers, men who were on occasion brilliant soldiers and diplomatists, who supported the Company in the East.

When the Company was at its last gasp, when it was making arrangements to withdraw from Bengal, and had threatened to sell up within a month unless the government would come to a settlement, Cromwell in 1657 roused himself to give them a charter ratifying the charter of James I. He had done the Company considerable damage, he had forced it to an agreement with the interloping Courten Company of Charles, he had forcibly borrowed their money, and he had obliged them to spend large sums in fortifying Pularoon, which had been reserved to them on the settlement after Amboyna. Pularoon was of no value to them, as the Dutch had carefully destroyed all the spice trees before handing it over. It was exchanged afterwards, as I have stated, for a Dutch settlement in north-east America called New Amsterdam, now called New York after King James II.

With the new charter came a revival. But so little

trust had the merchants in the Cromwellian policy that the Company could not induce any of the thirteen towns applied to, to take a pennyworth of stock.

After the first twelve voyages the Company had so far altered their system of subscription as to form groups of joint stock subscribers for a series of voyages instead of for one only, the subscription to continue for a term of years, after which the venture was wound up. Each voyage of the joint stock took over the factories and their contents from the preceding ones and employed their factors. But the confusion of accounts was very considerable. The different voyages were disconnected except so far as they were joined together by the chief officials, such as the governor and treasurer, being members of all.[4] After the 1657 charter the Company decided that the common stock should not be dissolved after a term, but be continuous, and that £5 should purchase the freedom of the Company, and a right to share in the stock. It was some time yet before a place in the Company could be bought and handed down from father to son like a seat on the Stock Exchange or membership of a London Company. With these conditions, proposed by the Company itself, there was a revival; but the Company in these years was at the lowest ebb of its fortunes.

India was in a very disturbed state. Aurungzebe had seized the throne and was fighting with his brothers and kinsmen; the Mahratta cavalry were carrying on successful guerilla warfare against the Moguls, and the king of Golconda was fighting the coast chiefs. Difficulties inside the Company aggravated matters. The Company appears to have tried, even puritanically, to enforce temperance and the decency of living which were essential for successful competition. "At our ordinary meetings," says Mendelslo in 1638, "we took only Thé [*anglice,* vulg. Tay]." Still, the loss of life from fever and disease was terrible. Out of 190 servants of the Company in the prime of life, 48 died in the East between 1630 and 1634.[5] Dealing with desperate conditions, the Company was not able to put down the private trading on their own account by which their poorly

paid servants added to their scanty salaries. These imitated the Portuguese by private port-to-port trading, a business in which the Portuguese and Dutch were only too willing to help. Yet it was in a great measure owing to the freedom which the Company gave to its servants as to time and place of buying for it that in the end we beat the Dutch, who had to wait on the orders of the Governor-General in Java for their purchases. The losses of ships, the cost of refitting and repairs, were a very large item to be set against the possible great profits.[6]

Section II. After the Restoration—Bombay

With the Restoration came a new life for the Company. Both Charles and James, in spite of their deadly struggle with the absolutely worthless Parliaments of patriots for the means of carrying on government,[7] did all possible to encourage and support the ventures in the East. "Charles II," says Sir William Hunter (ii. 185), a by no means friendly critic of the king, "found the Company a trading body; he left it a nascent territorial power, with the right of coinage, the command of fortresses and of English and of Indian troops, the authority to form alliances and to make peace and war, the jurisdiction over subjects and other attributes of delegated sovereignty."

The Company suffered terribly from the patriots at home. But it suffered also greatly from the fearful mortality among the troops which went to the East. When in 1662 Charles sent out an army of 400 men to take possession of Bombay, part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, the Portuguese officials at Goa refused to give it up, making every objection which could lead to delay. The army, pending negotiations, was marooned on an island off the coast, and when in 1665, after giving up the mainland of the territory to the Portuguese at Goa, the British force was able to take possession of Bombay, 97 only of the army had survived. The English could have had the assistance of the Portuguese at this time if they had thought it worth while, as the Portuguese, steadily losing ground to the Dutch, French and Moslems,

were only too glad to obtain the help of the English to enable them to keep their hold on the factories and ports remaining to them.

In 1668 Charles handed the island over to the Company, who alone could hope to make anything out of its possessions, at a nominal rent of £10. Surat for the present remained the headquarters of the Company. These were removed to Bombay in 1687.

Bombay inclined early to become a Protestant colony of white people, growing steadily and prosperous, but subject to the most fearful mortality. The two Dutch wars, of course, spread to the East, but did not much affect the Company's position in the peninsula; but the effect of the English Revolution and the murder of the king were felt in many ways. There were mutinies both in Bombay and Madras, and local officials tried to set up independent authorities. Charles, on one such occasion of a mutiny in his name, showed his usual good sense by giving the mutineers a full pardon, and ordering a public dinner with the firing of many guns to the health of the king, queen, and Company.

The Company was lucky in possessing in Aungier a great governor for Bombay. He started the first Protestant church in the settlement; he studied the Hindoo religion, and made use of caste to organise trade guilds; in very troublous times he made a treaty with the Mahrattas; he put down the Malabar pirates at sea and controlled the Arab ships from that coast which fought as mercenaries for the Moguls. Seeing that the Mogul Empire was breaking up, he urged the use of armed men and ships for defence. His excellence was realised when, under a weak successor, both Mogul and Mahratta made use of Bombay harbour as a battle-ground.

In spite of themselves, in spite of their oft-repeated principle of adherence to quiet trade and avoidance of war (Appendix P.), the Company were with reluctance forced into building forts and arming men and ships. They realised that Portugal and Holland ate up their profits by the expense of armed force, but they saw no way out.

The quality of the soldiers for their armies was an addi-

tional difficulty. Of the force raised by Aungier to defend Bombay in 1677 Hunter says (p. 215): "Many of the Europeans were Germans enlisted because less given to drunkenness than the riff-raff which the Company's crimps swept up from the prison yards and slums of London." But, luckily for us, it was a generation of great organisers who managed the Company's business in the East, the politicians at home being too busy making mischief and wasting time and money to interfere to any great extent to the Company's injury. Sir John Child at Surat and Sir Josia Child in London prepared to meet force by force both as against the viceroys of the Moguls or the Mahrattas.

We slowly approach the third stage of the Viking invasion, when military pre-eminence and the assumption of territorial authority take the place of trade as the prime object of the Company.

Section III. Madras

Passing from Bombay on the west coast of India, we come to the Madras Presidency in the south. On the southern half of the continent, known as the Deccan, there is a very narrow band of level land between the mountains known as the Western Ghats and the western sea. This strip had been in the hands of petty kings with whom but little trading was to be done, the trade being for the most part in the hands of the Portuguese. From these western mountains the tableland slopes gradually away to the east to the Eastern Ghats, the rivers flowing to the eastern sea through their passes. Between these Eastern Ghats and the Bay of Bengal there are great fertile regions of level land. The Deccan was governed by a viceroy, called a Subadar, under whom were nabobs over the subordinate divisions. Of these the Carnatic or Arcot was one of the most important. It is bounded on the north by the river Gandegama, on the west by the Ghats, and on the south by Trichinopoli, Tanjore and Mysore. It plays a great part in our wars with the French in the following century in India. In 1611 Captain Hippon and others went to

Masulipatam and built up a trade there, exchanging muslin for spices from Bantam, which was then our headquarters in Java. But after Amboyna in 1628 the Dutch persuaded the government to turn the English out.

In 1632 the obstinate English obtained a firman from the king of Golconda himself, and settled at Masulipatam in force. Then, after fortifying and abandoning a place called Armagaon, one Francis Day in 1638 obtained a very narrow strip of land on which he founded and fortified Madras.

The Company was horrified at the expense of this, to them, unnecessary waste of money. They blamed and threatened greatly Day and his companions for the mischief,[8] but as it was done for the moment they acquiesced. Later, in 1654, the Company, afraid of the cost, withdrew all the garrison except ten men, but in 1657 with another shift they made it the head of all their posts on the eastern coast.

Writing in 1672–3 Fryer[9] says of the population of Madras: "The number of English here may amount to three hundred; of Portuguese as many thousands who made Fort St. George their refuge when they were routed from St. Thomas by the Moors about ten years past and have ever since lived under protection of the English."

Section IV. Bengal

The story of the Bengal Presidency is somewhat of the same character. But here the conditions were different. Moslems from the north had ruled Bengal for centuries, being always more or less independent of the kingdoms of Delhi and the north-east, even under Babar and Akbar, until in the seventeenth century Aurungzebe enforced his authority over this richest province of India. The viceroys of Bengal and Orissa owed only a shadowy obedience to the Mogul. They were in all actual matters independent. The Portuguese had traded in the province, but had exercised no authority there. They had been able to obtain from the lesser kings in the south, who had not yet been reduced by the Moguls, territory over which they exercised sovereignty,

to build forts and to fortify them. But so long as the Mogul Empire continued to grow in strength and to remain in unity, no foreign sovereignty and no forts as emblems of such sovereignty were permitted within the limits of the empire. Here, then, the competition between British, Dutch and Portuguese was one for trade only, without the necessity for arming against each other, so long as the Mogul was strong enough to keep the peace.

In 1633 eight Englishmen went from Masulipatam in a junk to the mouth of the Maharani River in Orissa. Here, after a varying dispute with the Portuguese, they obtained leave to trade and set up a factory at Balasor. The Council at Masulipatam sent on to them a ship just arrived from England with a cargo of cloth and lead. The cargo remained for nearly a year unsold, while the men died of malaria and fever like flies. But the dogged English, in the face of fever, and Portuguese pirates, and a heavily armed Dutch fleet, and discontent at home, hung on to Balasor. The Company sent out orders to give it up; the sixteenth-century Francis Day, who had founded Madras, recommended holding it. In 1650 the Company had changed its mind, and one Gabriel Boughton obtained a licence to trade from the viceroy of Bengal, after which the English traded at various places on the Ganges. The success was not great, as the agencies were too far from headquarters to be trustworthy.

Towards the end of the century matters in the East came to a climax for the existence of the Company. The English had been driven out of Bantam by the Dutch in 1682, as the result of the interference of both nations in a war between two claimants for the throne, a father and son. The English prepared a fleet to gain possession of Bantam, but Charles held back, and the conflict resolved itself into a war of pamphlets. The Dutch accused the English of interfering in the war and of being rebels to the young king, while asserting that their own assistance to him was according to the law of nations and of nature, a work of charity alone, and so forth.[10] The upshot of it all was that the Dutch tried for and succeeded in enforcing a monopoly which made them practical owners of the Malay Archipelago, whereas

the English as a rule asked for no monopoly but only for trade. Charles would no doubt have made war if he could, but his position was that stated by Pepys with reference to an earlier squabble in 1663–4, "which certainly our king cannot endure, if Parliament will give him money."

A far more serious but almost laughable crisis came in 1686. Under the strong and settled authority of the Moguls the unarmed English had built up a thriving trade in Bengal. This was managed from Hugli and other factories partly by commercial travellers through the country, but for the most part by agreements with inland merchants for purchase and delivery of the goods on an advance of about half the price.

Section V. The War against the Mogul

The Bengal viceroy, relying on the helplessness of the English, had yearly increased his exactions, had intercepted and seized the goods paid for, and had made use of a pretence of protecting the Indian seller to nullify and destroy the contracts of the Company in his courts. The Company, after years of vain protest, despairing of any remedy against a viceroy independent of the Mogul, who was fighting in the south, sent out an expedition of twelve ships and 600 soldiers to declare war upon the empire of the Mogul. It was the ridiculous mouse attacking the labouring mountain. So far as the attack had any success it was by endurance in failure and disaster, the example of ultimate success by those who can endure most. Whether, among the acute spirits in the East who upheld the Company against the Moslem in Asia and the carping opponents at home, there were any who realised the importance of the Bengal trade I cannot say; seventy years later, when Calcutta fell to Surajah Dowlah, it was the unanimous opinion of the Government and Council of Madras that the Company could not subsist without their possessions in Bengal. The coast of Coromandel, they say, was a burthen to them; instead of defraying the Company's expenses out of the profits of its trade, it had incurred a debt of near half a million; Bombay

and the west coast, free from all disturbance, scarce paid their expenses; so that there remained only a few ships to China for the Company's support.

The Company's servants were to leave Bengal; the expedition in Bengal was to bring away the men and goods, to attack the Mogul both by sea and land, to seize and fortify Chittagong, which they fondly imagined was somewhere up the Ganges, march on Dacca, and there dictate their terms at will to the viceroy. Another part of the expedition was to seize from Surat the Mogul's ships and inflict all the injury possible.

Nine of the ships arrived in October, by which time Job Charnock, the Company's head man at Hugli, and founder of Calcutta, with his little force, had been attacked by the viceroy with a great army of many thousand men. Calling up the 460 men from the ships, he repulsed and drove the Indians from the town. A new army came to the attack and were again defeated. But as a blockade was imminent from the great forces of the viceroy, Charnock evacuated the factory and, marching down the river, destroying and burning on the way, settled for three months on the island of Higili at the mouth of the river, a most fearfully unhealthy place. Here he lost some two-thirds of his force from fever, while he negotiated with the viceroy and with the Mogul.

Meanwhile British sea power again came into action. The ships at Surat had been successful in doing a vast deal of damage to the Indian shipping. This, and the interference with the pilgrimage, induced Aurungzebe to grant terms to the Company, giving permission to trade and to erect docks and factories at Ulubaria, a few miles below Calcutta, to which Charnock accordingly took his remnant of men for three months. Then he went back to Calcutta and began to fortify the factory. But the negotiations were checked and all chance of peace destroyed by the action of the men at home. They appointed a ship's captain, Heath—a man, says Orme, not far removed from craziness—to command, with orders to remove the agency to Chittagong. After burning along the coasts and attacking Balasor, for which the inland agents were put in irons, Heath sailed to attack

Chittagong, which he found garrisoned by 10,000 men. He made various contradictory dispositions and agreements, and then took the whole force to Madras, where, says Orme, he apologised for his conduct by saying that nothing but lies had been told on all sides.

After this the Mogul's officers seized the Company's factories at Surat, Masulipatam, and Vizagapatam, threw its agents into prison, and attacked Bombay. But as the English were able to disturb the pilgrimage to Mecca, and their trade was valuable, in 1690 the Mogul granted them a firman of pardon and leave to trade on payment of 3000 rupees a year. In August 1690 Charnock, having made a new agreement with a new viceroy, a more reliable official, came back with a few men to Calcutta and began the building and fortifying of this great centre of trade. The place was fearfully unhealthy, and Charnock's band suffered greatly while at their work. In January 1693 the founder, Charnock, died. The directors agreed to the holding of the place "since we cannot now help it." This Bengal war was said to have cost the Company £400,000 and a loss of £500,000 to the shareholders and the Crown from interruption of trade.

Section VI. The Parliamentary Struggle

The Company had a very good reason, if it was to exist at all, to enlist on its side the native rulers, whether Mogul, viceroy, or independent kings. Its insistence on its monopoly against outside grumblers who wished for free trade drove these interlopers to become pirates trading, in spite of any law, from port to port. Thomas Pitt, the grandfather of William, Earl of Chatham, made his fortune in this way and bought the rotten borough of Old Sarum with the proceeds. The Dutchman being king and the Whigs in power, it is not in the least likely that the Company should have any chance against these men, who rapidly grew into a rival Company. After violent pushing back and forth between the king and Parliament, Josia Child, while William was in France fighting, obtained by the most lavish bribery

a new charter for twenty-one years. But Parliament disregarded this and resolved in 1694 that all the subjects of England have equal right to trade to the East Indies unless prohibited by Act of Parliament. Then in 1695 the Scottish Parliament created a Scottish Company, which, however, wasted its strength in an expedition to Darien, and in 1698 the interlopers obtained by counter bribery a charter for a new Company to the East. It is sufficient to say of the Parliamentary struggle that it lasted until the two Companies were amalgamated in 1708 by Godolphin's award, the Companies having by this time loaned to the State, exclusive of the enormous sums spent in bribery, £3,200,000 at 5 per cent. (Appendix Q.)

Meanwhile the damage done to the interests of the English in the East was enormous. During the war, ended by the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, 4200 British vessels in all had been taken by the enemy, including many of the East India Company's ships; the officials sent out to India, many of them dismissed servants of the old Company, did all they could to blacken its character; Waite, the new Company's governor at Surat, having promised to clear the seas of the pirates and to protect the Mecca pilgrims, Morris, an ambassador sent out to treat with the Mogul, refused to do this and accused the old Company of piracy; and Waite handed over the old Company's governor at Bombay to the Mogul, and offered him a bribe to keep him. All discipline was destroyed and trade decayed.

In 1696 a rebellion by Bengal rajahs against the viceroy gave the Europeans who supported him the opportunity for a claim to fortify their factories for their defence. Accordingly, the French fortified Chandarnagore, the Dutch, their factory near Hugli, and the British fortified Calcutta and bought from the Zemindar the rents of Satanati, Calcutta and Govindpur. In 1708 Thomas Pitt bought from the nawab of the Carnatic a grant of five towns in the neighbourhood of Madras.

CHAPTER XXV

THE THIRD STAGE OF THE INVASIONS—TERRITORIAL CONQUEST

Section I. The Decay of the Empire of the Moguls

By 1707 the importance of the Bengal agencies had become so manifest and the business gained had so much increased that the Company declared Calcutta to be an independent Presidency. For a time the increase of trade had been peacefully obtained; but the semi-independent nabob of Bengal, Jaffier Khan, began to discover new ways of exploiting the Company, for which there was no local redress. In 1713 it was decided to send to the Mogul, who was then Furruksir,[1] an embassy with very rich presents from the three Presidencies, presenting a petition urging redress on divers matters. The embassy, which arrived at Delhi in July 1715, only obtained their desires in part in July 1717, after following the Mogul on his campaigns against the Sikhs, and gaining the smaller points at issue *seriatim* by a process of continuous bribery.

When they succeeded it was by a side wind based, as usual, upon their sea power. The authorities at Bombay had lately withdrawn the agency at Surat on account of the extortions practised upon them there. A similar withdrawal had taken place in 1686 before the Company's attack on the Indian shipping. Believing that the withdrawal portended a renewed attack by sea, the local ruler represented to the vizier, with a lively recollection of the damage done in the former troubles, that it would pay better to satisfy the demands of the foreigners than to incur the damage anew.

The increased trade of the Company and their naval reputation led to an increase in the use of their ships for the carrying trade from port to port, and for export of native

goods shipped by native merchants on their own account. In ten years after the embassy the Company's shipping in Bengal amounted to ten thousand tons.

About this time the provinces of Behar and Orissa were added to Bengal. The firman of the Mogul had authorised the Company to purchase the rents of thirty-seven towns in Bengal, but the nabob, Jaffier, contrived to prevent this order from coming into effect.

The Mogul Empire was now fast breaking up. Bahadur Shah died in 1712. Then ensued a civil war between his four sons, followed, first, by a succession of short-lived impotents and, from 1719 to 1748, by one Mohammed Shah, who, escaping early assassination, was apparently no better than his pre-goers. He was not as lucky, as under him the empire suffered the most disgraceful reverse of its history.

In 1724 Nizam al Muluck, the viceroy of the Deccan, and Saadat Khan, the ruler of Oude, became quietly independent of the Mogul. In 1740 the nabob of Bengal ceased to make payments to him. One must, however, keep in mind that this empire, resting on force, was not founded on any ownership by the State of the soil, or connected by organised administration from the centre by the Mogul and his officers. The viceroys of the great provinces into which the empire was divided had very great powers amounting, even when the empire was at its height, nearly to independence, subject only to the payment to the imperial treasury of the regulated sums, and to the power of the imperial army when it could be set in action. So far as the receipt of revenue went, it was a matter of indifference to the Mogul whether it was paid by the British or the French or Mahratta or Sikh, or by the appointed Subadar, provided that the person paying it could be relied on to put his force at the disposal of the Mogul for military purposes when desired.

It is not safe to assume that the strongest ruler could have held the empire for very long, as it extended itself over the Peninsula. The armies needed for the control of the north could not safely be moved to the Deccan, even if Mahratta cavalry were ravaging the country. We must always keep in mind in all history prior to the nineteenth

century the very great difficulties of transport which accompanied all movements of armies. The larger the army the greater the difficulty of the supplies. As Napoleon said, the army moves on its belly. So the ruler of the Deccan must have enormous powers to enable him to keep the peace in his province. An empire in India at any time, which rests on brute force, can only be kept going under the very strongest ruler by the superiority of brute force.

The conditions acted in favour of the Europeans in many ways. They were always welcome as mercenary fighters for the Mogul, obtaining assistance from him against local rulers in return. They were enabled to obtain privileges and territory in reward for the part their troops could take in support of rival candidates among the smaller or more remote rulers; such disputes and the part played in them by the Europeans went unnoticed by the Mogul, so long as his customary dues were paid, or, if he was at the time too weak to enforce his power, if they were not paid.

Such was the supreme weakness under Mohammed Shah that in 1738, on the invitation of Nizam al Muluck the viceroy of the Deccan, Nadir Shah, otherwise called Thamas Kouli Khan, who had successfully usurped the throne of Persia, invaded India and, defeating the Mogul, entered Delhi carrying the Mogul with him. Here he perpetrated a fearful massacre of the defenceless, and then, taking with him a loot of treasure estimated at seventy million pounds sterling, he returned in 1739 to Persia, annexing only the country west of the Indus which commanded the passes. In 1756 the Afghan chief who succeeded to the rule of the eastern part of Nadir Shah's territory again invaded Delhi, made a fresh massacre and looted what was left.

The Mogul also had to fight the military clans which became more powerful as the Empire grew weaker, such as the Rajputs and the Sikhs. These latter were, in their origin, a pious sect of Hindoo reformers who arose in the last half of the fifteenth century. Akbar the Liberal in 1577 granted to the Sikh leader the site of the tank and golden temple at Amritsar, which became their headquarters. The later Moguls were not so sympathetic; from the time

of Jehangir the sect came in conflict with the Moslems. By the opening of the eighteenth century the brotherhood had become a military Hindoo power opposed to the Moslem Moguls. It had some of the character of the Moslem. It was an open freemasonry, not admitting any restraint of caste, a religion which was a combination of spiritual and military elements, a democracy in which the lowest class could attain the highest honours and lord it over the wealthy and intelligent. A rebellion of these fanatics had been hardly put down by Bahadur, the successor of Aurungzebe.

In the south between Bombay and Golconda a great military power, the Mahrattas, arose. Orme, writing of them in the latter part of the eighteenth century in his "Military History of Hindostan," says that in less than a century they have grown from "a people of inconsiderable note to a nation which at present strikes terror into all the countries between Cape Comorin and Delhi." Nothing is known of their origin. Their strength lay in their large bodies of light cavalry, such as the Scots used against the English in the days of the Edwards, a force which, marching sometimes as much as fifty miles in a day, waged a predatory guerilla warfare of destruction. It was so difficult to meet them in battle that generally they were paid off in the place of hunting down and fighting them. Their armies were used very largely as mercenaries, but they were dangerous associates as they readily changed sides for higher pay or other advantage. The Company had earlier supported the Mogul against these Mahratta warriors.

Such were the conditions of India when the British and French came into conflict in the East.

The Nizam al Muluck who had invited the Persian invasion of the empire was ruler of the Deccan. One of the principal nabobships of this viceroyalty was Arcot, or the Carnatic, bounded on the north by the river Gandegama, on the west by a chain of mountains, and on the south by the small states of Trichinopoli, Tanjore, and Mysore. In the Carnatic were the towns of Madras and Pondicherry. Dost Ali, the nabob of the Carnatic, having no occupation for his armies, sent his son, Subder Ali, with a kinsman,

Chunda Sahib, to annex Trichinopoli. This was done, Chunda having got to Trichinopoli set up there for himself. While Subder Ali was engaged on this expedition, the Nizam, to whom Dost Ali had not paid his required contributions towards the government of the Mogul, set the Mahrattas to invade the Carnatic. The kings of Mysore and Tanjore, who had suffered from the government of Chunda Sahib in Trichinopoli, joined in the attack. Dost Ali was defeated by the Mahrattas, and he and his younger son Hassan were killed. Then Subder Ali made a treaty with the Mahrattas for payment of a great sum of money, and as a secret compact with them for a cession of territory, *videlicet* Trichinopoli, if they could get it at their own expense. They took the city and carried off Chunda Sahib to their own country.

Chunda Sahib had connected himself with the French at Pondicherry. Subder Ali had sent his family and treasure to the English at Madras. Going to Vellore and attempting to collect from Mortiz Ali, the Governor, the share of the Mahratta levy imposed on Vellore, Subder Ali was murdered. Mortiz Ali, proclaiming himself nabob at Arcot, was met by a revolt from which he fled in disguise, the army proclaiming a boy, Seid Mohammed, Subder Ali's son, as nabob. Now the Nizam came on the scene with a large army to collect his revenues. He swept away all the local rulers, forced the Mahrattas to evacuate Trichinopoli, and appointed one of his generals nabob of Arcot. This man was found dead next morning, and one Anwaradin took his place. To the care of this man, an alien to the Carnatic but a soldier with some experience of rule, the young nabob of the old line of Dost Ali was committed. He was murdered at a marriage feast by Pathans employed by Mortiz Ali and supported by Anwaradin.

Section II. British and French in the East—The War of the Austrian Succession

In 1739 Great Britain had declared war against Spain, and in 1740 Anson set out with six ships to plunder the

Spanish west coast of America. He returned home with one ship, having gone round the world and captured the great Spanish galleon with a million and a half of silver dollars on the way. In this year Frederick, called the Great, became king of Prussia, and Charles VI of Austria, claimant to the throne of Spain, died, leaving his dominions to his daughter, Maria Theresa. Her neighbours at once began to plunder her. Frederick stole Silesia, while France supported Bavaria against her claims. Great Britain and Holland became her allies as against their old enemy France, but although they committed acts of war they did not formally declare war against each other until 1743. In 1744 the war spread to the East.

The situation there was what it is always in such struggles. The merchants of the peoples had no more inclination to spend blood and treasure over the disputes of the inheritance of kings than at the present day they have over the wrangles of ministers representing financial princes. War as between the Companies which carried on with each other a fierce but friendly competition was put off as long as possible. They agreed to be neutral and to go on with their business, but they could not tie the armies or navies of the combatants or the men directing them.

The French had formed several East India Companies, the last in 1719 being a union of the French East and West Indies, Senegal and China Companies. In 1672 they had founded Pondicherry, in 1688 Chandernagore, and at various dates other settlements. In 1742 Dupleix, who appears to have foreseen in the decay of the Mogul Empire the opening and necessity for the acquisition of territorial sovereignty, became Governor of Pondicherry, by that time a well-fortified place. Now four British ships came and cruised among the Malay Islands and, after taking French ships, came to the Coromandel coast to attack Pondicherry. Dupleix, alarmed, gave the Nabob Anwaradin a good heavy bribe to forbid the British ships from making war in the Carnatic. After some protest the British ships left for the time.

In June 1746 came a squadron of nine French ships,

superior in the number of men but inferior in weight of metal. They were commanded by a great French Admiral, M. de la Bourbonnais. He was Governor of Mauritius, which he had transformed from a forest into a smiling garden, and from this island he had brought his fleet. After an indecisive engagement the British went to Ceylon to refit, followed by the French, who had mounted more heavy guns. Then the British ships went north, while the French returned and invested Madras. The British called in their turn on the nabob to prevent hostilities, but they forgot to give him any bribe, and he did nothing. The weak walls of Madras were defended by two hundred British who had none of them seen service. In September 1746 the town surrendered on M. de la Bourbonnais agreeing to ransom it on reasonable terms. When it was on the point of falling the nabob wrote to Dupleix, protesting against the seizure of the town and threatening an attack if it were not given up, and Dupleix promised to give up the town to him if taken. De la Bourbonnais disputed any claim of Dupleix to the town which he had ransomed. Madras at this time was the most important of European settlements in the East, with the exception of Goa and Batavia, having in its territory, says Orme, 250,000 Indians.

The disputes between Dupleix and de la Bourbonnais were very fortunate for the British. They probably saved our empire in the East, as large naval reinforcements came to M. de la Bourbonnais, one of the greatest of French seamen. But the chief instrument of the salvation of the British was our old friend the storm. The dispute between the two French leaders obliged de la Bourbonnais to remain at Madras in the stormy season, with the result that a great part of his fleet was destroyed by a hurricane in the roadstead and that he retired to Mauritius in December, leaving behind him soldiers and sailors to the number of at least 2500 men. Arriving in France, he was sent to the Bastille, where he remained for three years. The opportunity of the French to destroy the British naval supremacy, which was an essential to their success in India, did not occur again.

The French now impressed on the Oriental the superiority of the European army. The Nabob Anwaradin sending 10,000 men to take Madras from the French, a force of 400 Frenchmen commanded by a Swiss named Paradis totally defeated them. This was followed by another greater defeat at San Thomé, which had been occupied by the nabob's troops. Dupleix now annulled the treaty of ransom and continued to occupy Madras until forced to surrender it at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

Section III. European Troops as Allies of Native Princes—Arcot

After this peace, on the death of the nizam of the Deccan and the nabob of the Carnatic, the wars between the two European peoples were continued as allies of the native rulers, Dupleix supporting one son of the nizam and Chunda Sahib, and the British another son and Mohammed Ali. Thornton calls it the seven years' war of the Carnatic. The French prosecuted the cause of their nominees with such energy and success that they became virtual masters of the south, leaving only Fort St. David, Cannalore and Trichinopoli to the British, and forcing Mohammed Ali to fly to Trichinopoli. The British so little appreciated the position that they allowed Boscawen who had come to the East to return to England with his ships. Late in the day they realised the necessity of saving their allies and set to work, with poor success, to relieve Trichinopoli, being helped by the mistakes of their adversaries.

After sundry excursions and alarms, in the course of which the French defeated some 25,000 Moslems with 80 Europeans and 3000 sepoys, both the candidates for Nizam were murdered by their followers. The British sent a force of 400 men to relieve Trichinopoli, which, after some unsuccessful fighting on the way, entered the town. Clive, who had accompanied the troops as commissary for the Company, suggested an attack upon the territory of

Arcot to draw off the enemy from Trichinopoli. This being agreed to, he went with a force of 200 Europeans and 300 Sepoys with eight officers to attack the fort of Arcot, leaving (so low had the British power fallen) 100 men in Fort St. David and 50 men in Madras.

Reaching the fort of Arcot, which had been abandoned by its garrison, Clive, by every means conciliating the large body of natives in the fort, prepared it for a siege. With his very small force he had to hold a fort with ruinous walls more than a mile in circumference. The large forces of the enemy in the surrounding town and neighbourhood were reinforced by fresh troops in thousands from Vellore and Trichinopoli, and by 150 Europeans from Pondicherry. Yet the British made sallies from the fort and drove the French from their guns, and after many months the siege was raised, and the end of the defence was gained, for the French and their allies gave up the siege of Trichinopoli.

This brilliant defence against overwhelming odds restored British prestige in the south of India and gave them a chance of recovering some of their positions; but however much these brilliant feats of arms of the small bodies of French and British may have impressed the ill-equipped and badly led Indians, they had little effect in deciding which of the two European nations was to dominate India. That could only be settled by the power to recruit men, money and war materials from the West. The command of the sea was essential to the European who aspired to rule in India.

In 1753 Clive went home, not to return until 1755. The Marquis de Bussy Castlenau, a distinguished soldier, now assumed the command of the French. He obtained from the French nominee for Nizam the revenues of great territories to pay for his troops, and continued to increase the power and influence of the French in the south.

In 1753 Dupleix was recalled. His policy of aggression and interference in native wars, in spite of its apparent success, had not been popular in France. The French government involved in wars or disputes leading to wars in Europe and, attempting with an inferior fleet to protect

her varied possessions and interests in all parts of the world against British maritime superiority, was restive under the call for men and money necessary to support these little Indian wars, while such wars, though they provided great opportunities for the enrichment of the soldiers and officials at the expense of European and native alike, did not produce the dividends expected by the French investor in the Company. Bussy, in full agreement with the views of Dupleix, remained in India; but an agent sent out by the French arranged a truce. It did not last long.

While these affairs were in progress in India, the conflicts between the British and French fleets in the Atlantic and home waters had resulted in the destruction of the greater part of the French fighting force. "Mistress now of the seas," says Mahan, writing of Great Britain in 1744, "rather by the weakness of her enemies than by her own disciplined strength, she drew from that mastery no adequate results." But every year her naval strength grew, while that of France diminished; and after the failure of the Young Pretender in 1745 the affairs at home enabled the government to adopt a more determined policy abroad. In 1755–6 affairs in the East were so closely connected with the affairs elsewhere that the conditions in North America have to be considered side by side with their development. We must leave India for a time.

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CHAPTER XXVI

BRITISH AND FRENCH IN NORTH AMERICA

Section I. Early French and English Settlements

In 1534 Jacques Cartier, a Breton seaman of St. Malo, was sent by Francis I to the north-west to discover the way to the East Indies for France. Cartier discovered the Gulf of St. Lawrence; in 1535–6 he went up the river to the sites of Quebec and Mont Real. The French were received in the most friendly fashion by the natives, and in return, on leaving, kidnapped after the European fashion some Indian chiefs, taking them to France, where they died.

When in 1541 Cartier made another expedition, they brought back some pieces of quartz rubbish which they imagined were gold and diamonds. No attempt was made at settlement until 1597, when Henri IV attempted a colony which failed. Then in 1603 an expedition went from France under one Pontgravé, a Breton of St. Malo, accompanied by Samuel Champlain. They went to Mont Real and then to Nova Scotia, then named Acadia, where a settlement was made at Port Royal—a settlement which, when the leaders went back to France, was removed to Annapolis. Champlain explored the coasts of Nova Scotia and Maine. The grant from the French Crown of the indefinite territory of New France was revoked and renewed again in favour of one Pontrincourt. Then in 1610 Henri IV was assassinated by Ravaillac.

In 1584 Raleigh had received from Elizabeth a charter for a territory to be called Virginia, the limits of which, like those of France, were to be defined by his powers of discovery and settlement. By virtue of this, he attempted

a colony on the island of Roanoke, which failed. In 1606, no permanent colonies having been made on the Atlantic seaboard, unless we except the Spaniards at St. Augustine in Florida and the Dutch at New Amsterdam, James I granted charters to two separate Companies. One Company, called the London Adventurers, received a charter for Maryland and the coast south of the Potomac, two hundred miles north and two hundred miles south of Old Point Comfort, as far as they could wrest it from the men living there or from other Europeans; the other Company, the Plymouth Adventurers, for a similar purpose for territory north of that line. These settlements were regulated by the will of the English Corporation, which in the first place considered dividends. The Governor, in whom all authority rested, was their agent. To follow up a little the story of these settlements, the Plymouth Company came to grief in 1607. In 1609, when the London Company was expiring, it was saved by an expedition under Lord Delaware. In 1614 Captain John Smith settled a part of the Plymouth Company's territory to which Prince Charles gave the name of New England. Then in 1620 the Pilgrim Fathers, on founding their settlement at Plymouth, drew up a Constitution on the *Mayflower*, declaring themselves subjects of the Crown of England.

James I, like Richard I, was in the habit of encouraging interlopers into monopolies granted, and revoking charters for which value had been given. He did so in this case, granting charters behind the back of the Northern Company, leaving it to the colonists to buy up the new Company, and revoking the charter of the London Company. In 1625 Charles I organised Virginia as a Crown Colony, dependent on the king and governed by a Council appointed by him, leaving to the colonists their Assembly and House of Burgesses already organised. Various other charters took the place of the Plymouth Company. After John Locke and Lord Shaftesbury had drawn up a scientific, unworkable Constitution for the Carolinas, and after Indian wars in 1712–15, the Home Government in 1729 divided the Carolinas into two Crown Colonies. Lastly,

in 1732 Georgia was planted as a philanthropic scheme to provide for persons in prison for debt, and for persecuted Protestants, liberty of conscience and freedom of worship to be allowed to all persons, "Papists alone excepted." This broad stream of philanthropy ran into the sands, and in 1753 Georgia became a royal province.

To go back once more to the seventeenth century, in 1609 Henri IV was negotiating with a seaman named Henry Hudson, in view of an expedition to discover a northerly road to the east, but he was forestalled by the East India Company of Amsterdam, who engaged Hudson to attempt a way by Nova Zembla. Hudson started on the expedition, but finding his way blocked by solid ice, and having heard from Captain John Smith of Virginia[1] of what we now know as the great lakes, and having good common sense as well as seamanship, he turned to the west to find by that way a road to the east and discovered Hudson River. His crew being mutinous compelled him to stop on the way back at Dartmouth, and the British Government persuaded and ordered him to enter their service. He went again for them in 1610 and discovered Hudson Bay. But the mutinous crew, provisions failing them, left him and the officers in a boat to die, and came to England, where they were seized and punished. He had reached latitude 81°, the highest yet attained. For the present nothing happened. On Hudson's first entry into Davis' Straits his Dutch "sailors behaved very badly towards the people of the country, taking things by force." Otherwise they had found it an excellent place for trade.

Meanwhile the French were attempting settlements in Canada. After the death of Henri IV, Queen Marie de Medici sent out Jesuits, who carried on a great work of conversion of the Indians to Christianity begun by Pontrincourt. The work of conversion succeeded for the time, but the colonies were soon on the point of starvation as usual. Pontrincourt sold out his interests to Madame de Guercheville, who, under the influence of the Jesuits, obtained a grant from the French king of New France from Florida to Canada. But now the French settlers had

to reckon with the English settlements on the sea coast. The settlers sent out by Madame de Guercheville began a new settlement at Penobscot, but one Samuel Argall, an Englishman, who was cruising on the coast with an armed vessel for codfish, destroyed the settlement as the Spaniards had destroyed the French Huguenot settlements in Florida, and under the orders of the Governor of Virginia he destroyed Port Royal.

In the middle of the seventeenth century the British in North America were reinforced by a fresh loyal element in the territory north of French Canada. At this time two Frenchmen, Medard Chouart and Pierre Radisson, went to Canada; it was claimed by the French later, as a basis for their claim to the land south of Hudson Bay and around the Saskatchewan and Red River, that these pioneers had visited Hudson Bay by land in 1661. Punished for illicit trading against monopoly by the French authorities in Canada, they came to England and saw Charles II, who, like Elizabeth, was always willing to support adventure so far as his Parliament allowed him the means. In 1668 a number of important men, including the Duke of York and Prince Rupert, took shares in a venture to the Bay. They took possession of land on the Nemisco, the south-east corner of Hudson Bay, where they built Charles Fort. The result of the voyage was the grant of a charter in 1670 incorporating the Hudson Bay Company.

The charter, reciting that the eighteen stockholders had undertaken an expedition into the Bay "for a discovery of a new passage into the south sea," and for trade in furs and minerals, gave the Company a monopoly of trade over an undefined region "not now actually possessed by any of our subjects or by the subjects of any other Christian prince or state." The charter also gave to the adventurers the absolute ownership "in free and common socage" of the whole of this territory, a territory not worth holding by the Crown, but a check on the French. The Company was to make laws and administer them, and to exercise military authority. The territory of the Company was in the eighteenth century described: "As rich as the trade to

those parts has been or may be, the way of living is such that we cannot reckon any man happy whose lot is cast upon this Bay."

Section II. The Position in the Seventeenth Century

We have then, in the seventeenth century, France and Britain as competitors for the supremacy of the North American continent. A little knowledge of geography might have enabled them to divide it; but their numbers were too few for any but a very gradual advance to the west, and the layers of colonial settlement were so placed that any advance by one blocked the possible way to unknown lands for the other. Under the conditions then and for long after existing, the settlements of either could barely exist without perpetual renewal from Europe, continuous succour at the opportune moment to repel the rival. In the extreme north the Hudson Bay Company, holding trading forts here and there on the edge of the Bay, but drawing trade from a very wide territory of unsettled woodland and plain traversed by wandering Indian hunters, a territory without serious limit north or west; to the south of them the French Crown holding the basin of the St. Lawrence, and claiming and holding by isolated forts the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, barring the way to the west for all; south of these again Puritans of Massachusetts, the complete contradiction of the French Catholic; and south of these again the loyal English colonists, with a considerable mixture of Germans, Scots, Irish, and French Huguenots, in the uncharted dominion of Virginia; and south and west again comes the French Louisiana, connecting with Canada by the valleys of the central rivers.

The political and military history of the next century is a story of considerable interest if one had time to tell it—of brave deeds, of intense suffering nobly borne, on the one part; and of opportunities missed or refused at the decisive moment, and savage acts of meanness and cruelty, on the other.

The great cause of the eventual conflict was the undefined,

overlapping claim of both peoples to unmeasured and uncharted territory to the west of the sea. No attempt had been made to settle boundaries even by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. It was only a question of time when the final definition must be attained by war. Men who had become colonists in hope of great gain or as an escape from distressful conditions at home were naturally inclined, unless restrained by family ties or by the responsibilities of an agricultural life, to push forward from the hardships of the coast settlements into the infinite possibilities of the beyond. Neither the French nor the British colonist was for a long time in the first instance agricultural. At present there was no more cultivation of the soil for food in any part than was necessary to provide for the daily needs of the colonists. Tobacco as a money crop became by 1616 the staple and currency of Virginia, but its cultivation was heavily handicapped by the insistence of those in authority on the profits. For the rest, the fur trade was supreme for both peoples, and such trade was confined to the exchange of European goods for the furs and tobacco of the Indians. The whole north and west was given up to fur and fish. The ships sent to Hudson Bay from England, which came out in June and returned in October, brought fire-arms, brass kettles, glass beads, tobacco, hatchets, knives, looking-glasses, and like goods, which the agents at the forts bartered for furs, mainly beaver skins. They had to take barter themselves in exchange for the furs, and dispose of the barter, *e.g.* hempen rope from the Dutch for which they must find a market. They made great profits in this roundabout way on varying returns, the trade leading them to reach out farther in all directions, building fort factories for trade on the rivers, and resenting any interference from the south and any competition in the extension to the west. They were the more inclined to assert their monopoly since, like all owners of monopolies, they had much difficulty in preventing their men doing a trade on their own account with the Company's furs. Until the eighteenth century there was little extension from the extreme north to the west. The Indians brought the furs to the forts on the Bay.

Section III. The Jesuit Missions and the Iroquois

Added to these inducements to extension of territory, and consequent conflict, was a most bitter warfare between the French and English emigrants over the forms of their religious beliefs. The French, loyal to their country and colonising under the Crown, continued in the forms of their country's religion and, in the full belief in its truth, attempted by pacific means and by the most splendid self-sacrifice the conversion of the heathen Indian. For this the Jesuits and other Orders gave their lives to suffering, torture and martyrdom; under the most adverse conditions they laboured to spread the gospel, and with it to advance the cultivation of the soil and the acceptance of European civility. They made great numbers of real converts among the more tractable tribes of the Huron and Algonquin without resort to any methods of violence. Though their labours were attended for a long time with success, these more peaceable tribes could make no head against the powerful Iroquois. The weaker were driven off altogether, exterminated, or merged in the stronger; and such priests as escaped massacre were compelled to give up the hopeless struggle. In the end it was largely owing to the exhaustion caused to the French in Canada by the unceasing struggle to maintain the peaceful Indian converts against the overpowering superiority of the Iroquois that their territories fell to the British. But although irreconcilable views of religious duty stood between them, the differences between the rival nations which told in the end in favour of the British lay far deeper. The French colonists identified themselves with the pride of France, easily accepted its feudal and monarchical forms, and were willing to submit their judgments to ecclesiastical authority. Opposed to them were the Puritans of New England, who represented from the first an insane jealousy of any forms of aristocracy or monarchy, undying hatred to the Catholic Church, a revolt from the enforcement of any dues of feudal society. They were in religion the "dissidence of dissent," in politics the inheritors of Cromwellian tradition; in every social aspect

of life seeking to subordinate the claims of the society to the material advantage of the individual. The French colonist continued to cherish respect and loyalty for his mother country; the British settler, whether he was the loyal Churchman driven by the Puritan to Virginia, or the Anglo-Scottish Puritan flying from real or fancied persecution to impose his tyranny on the weaker in his new home, looked back to their European homes with jealousy of interference or with rancorous resentment. The difference of sentiment resulted for the Frenchman in a want of initiative, a want of the sense of individual responsibility. He still continued to lean heavily on France; the New England Puritan learnt perforce to depend on himself. It was the perpetual conflict always going on in all societies between the social instinct of which the element of weakness is that it rests on the unity and co-operation of the society, and the assertive independence of the pioneer individual who considers first his personal self-interest. Each makes his own religion: for one it is the religion of the society; the other creates God in his own image.

The colonies to the south of the Potomac and in Maryland were peopled by Europeans—British and German, whose political and religious views were less brutal and tyrannical than those of New England. They cultivated the soil, exhibited a more liberal civility, largely reproducing the life of the islanders. But they did not come early into any close contact with the French settlers, only touching them when both peoples began to advance across the continent to the Ohio and Mississippi.

To these unequal conditions the physical aspect of the struggle came as a culminating decision. It resolved itself from the first into a contest for superiority at sea: if the relieving fleet did not come at the right moment or to the decisive point; if when it came the winds and waves devoured it; if when it came it was in such inferior force that it could not, or thought it dare not, act—the power passed to the enemy. The happenings depended greatly on the capacity of the leaders of the day to see clearly the necessary course of action and to seize advantage by the

forelock at the opportune moment of time. The centuries are taken up with a ceaseless ebb and flow of the tide of fortune, each people profiting by the mistakes or misfortunes of the other to commit or suffer like happenings for themselves.

Section IV. The Conflict to 1756

I do not propose to spend any more space than may be necessary on the details of the struggle in America prior to 1756. It is a good example of territorial expansion dissociated from trade, a record for the most part of suicidal destruction by two peoples of the work of the other in face of extreme danger from powerful tribes of ferocious savages. Champlain, one of those constructive rulers who arise from time to time, went, after the colony at Port Royal had broken up, in 1607 to Quebec as the lieutenant of De Monts, who had obtained a monopoly of the fur trade from Henri IV, in which post Champlain continued under the viceroys for twenty-seven years. When difficulty arose over the renewal of the monopoly, he obtained the formation of a new Company, reconciling the various interests. He allied the French colonists with the Huron and Algonquin Indians against the Iroquois, against whom he made several not very successful expeditions. In 1625 Cardinal Richelieu formed a Company called the Hundred Associates, to whom he gave a monopoly of all commerce over the whole continent. Champlain was Lieutenant-Governor of this. The French feudal tenures were introduced, the Company being bound to bring out and support colonists and workmen. In 1628 the fort of Quebec surrendered to the English fleet, but it was restored at the peace. A colony of Scots sent out about the same time to Acadia, who were to receive baronies in the province, which was to be called Nova Scotia, gave way to a new colony sent by Richelieu.

Unfortunately for the French, the colonists became divided into two parties under rival claimants who fought for the supremacy, one of them, de la Tour, calling in the aid as allies of the New Englanders of Massachusetts;

the other, d'Aunay, who had raided formerly the British trading post at Penobscot, made a treaty with Governor Endicott, providing that the Boston men should give no more help to de la Tour. The conflict ended for the time when in the absence of de la Tour his heroic wife defended his fort on the St. John. Failing to take it, d'Aunay offered fair terms for surrender and, Madame de la Tour accepting them, he broke his word and hung the whole garrison, forcing her to stand by with a rope round her neck to witness the murders. The leaders of the French colonists later continued their suicidal disputes, until in 1654 the men of Massachusetts sent a force and occupied all Acadia, which they held until restored by the Treaty of Breda in 1667.

The incessant wars of the French colonists against the Iroquois were a most unequal combat, the stealthy savages making their attacks by night, observing no rules of warfare, and torturing and massacring their prisoners, men and women. It was made the more unequal by the refusal of the New Englanders, when applied to for help, to give any assistance. The Iroquois descended upon the mission-houses, killing and torturing all ages and sexes, with the result that under these attacks the Huron and Algonquin tribes dissolved and disappeared, leaving the Iroquois to dominate the whole valley of the St. Lawrence and to threaten Quebec itself. In 1660 they set out in force to attack all the French settlements, but were checked by sixteen brave Frenchmen, who went to meet them at a log enclosure near the Ottawa rapids, and held them at bay for many days, dying to a man in defence of the colony. When, in 1665, Louis XIV took over the colony he sent out two thousand soldiers and settlers under the Marquis de Tracy, who made first a successful war and then peace with the five nations of Indians. In spite of the wars and horrors attending them, the French Canadian adapted himself to the Indians and won their affection as the New England Puritan never did or attempted.

The French settlements were now thoroughly organised as Crown colonies. Jean Baptiste Talon was appointed

Intendant, and Laval, a stern, narrow man, who made a great fight against the sale of spirits to the Indians, was Grand Vicar and Bishop. The paternal French government controlled all trade and settled all political and social relations, supplying wives for the settlers.[2] The customary law of Paris, based on Roman law, which still governs the civil rights of the French Canadian, was set up as the law of Canada. The land was divided into feudal seignories, with all the ancient privileges of milling, fishing, and so forth.

Frontenac, governor of Canada 1672–1698 (recalled in 1682 in consequence of a fearful massacre by the Iroquois at La Chine near Montreal), attacked in 1690 the British settlements at New York and Albany, the British retaliating by raids on Acadia and by an unsuccessful attack on Quebec. Both sides employed Indians. The raids on both sides are like nothing so much as the quarrels of fretful children in the nursery, and had about as much result.

The French claim to the Hudson Bay Company led to continuous raids on the Bay. In 1682 Radisson, who had gone over to France, formed a French Company and, coming to the Bay, built Fort Bourbon on the river Hayes. But two years later he and his associate Grosvilliers turned to the British and gave the furs to them. In the following years the brothers de Moyne, after three months of sea travel, reached the Bay with a fleet, and captured most of the British forts. From this time until the Peace of Ryswick in 1697 the British and French fought each other on the Bay, the forts frequently changing hands. The Peace of Ryswick professed to appoint a Commission to settle rights and boundaries; nothing was done; the French held the forts and trade; but after the islands had got rid of the Dutchman the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 awarded the entire west coast of the Bay to the British, ordering the French to evacuate all forts on the Bay and to pay for losses. It also gave Great Britain Acadia and Newfoundland. Since this date the Bay has remained British. The boundaries between the Company's territory and French Canada were to be defined. The French, cut

off from the Bay, began to revive their land trade by Lake Superior.

Section V. Expansion Westwards

With the end of the seventeenth century came a rapid extension to the west. In 1672 Jolliet and Father Marquette went to the Mississippi, and in 1682 La Salle followed its course to the Gulf of Mexico. This new undefined territory was called Louisiana. The fur trade was enticing the restless young men to the woods, defeating the French plans of settled colonies for agriculture. They explored the continent, opening up new lands. Hitherto both French and British had clung to the shores of the lakes and bays, the Indians bringing the furs to them; in the eighteenth century they pushed to the west and the struggle began again there. The French under Verandoye, an eminent Canadian explorer, reached in 1733 Lake Winnipeg; near here part of their men were massacred by an ambush of Sioux; in 1738, failing any help from the French authorities, Verandoye pushed on to the Assiniboine River; his sons reached Lake Manitoba and the Saskatchewan River, the Missouri, and the eastern spurs of the Rockies; in 1751 the men who followed him and reaped the fruits of his explorations built a fort where Calgary now stands. Besides exploration, the story of the far north tends to become a struggle between the fur trade, which was nomadic, and agricultural settlement, two occupations which could not well co-exist.

The history of the southern colonies called Virginia in these days is very interesting, but it does not come into the clash of arms until the middle of the eighteenth century. It was composed, as I have pointed out above, of men of a wholly different class from the "dissidence of dissent" that pervaded New England. In 1634 George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, colonised Maryland with Roman Catholics. He set an example quite contrary to the spirit of the time. The oath to be taken by the governor of the State was: "I will not by myself or any other, directly or indirectly,

molest any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of religion." As a contrast the New England Puritans permitted no liberty of religious faith, persecuting savagely those who differed from them and permitting no intrusion into their territory of Roman Catholics.

The southern colonist, for his part, had before him the problem of combining with loyalty to the European civility of his time an element of toleration for the variety of political and religious opinions in the colony. The early history of these southern people has little relation to trade except in the effort to save from the officials at home the results of the tobacco crops of the planter; it has no relation to war except for the inevitable Indian risings and massacres from time to time, and civil disturbance in the colony itself. Its records are concerned mainly with the gradual growth of the European form of life, closely following the development at home, disturbed by the same conflicts, the same ebb and flow of autocracy and demogogy which disturbed the islands in Europe. The Virginian world and its extensions west and south reproduced in all its faults and all its virtues the aristocratic civility of Western Europe, and preserved its best features at a very high standard until the whole civilisation of the continent went down in the war between the states in 1861–66. Even then it produced, among others, two of the very greatest men of British race, Robert E. Lee and Thomas (Stonewall) Jackson.

As the two sections grew and spread over the continent the principles underlying their social existence took them farther apart in every decade. The existence of negro slavery in the south checked immigration of European workers, so that the south remained a small fairly homogeneous population of British, Irish, and French Huguenot descent; the north, open to the incessant in-pouring of the riff-raff of peoples from all parts of Europe and Asia, has long since ceased to have any racial or religious relation to Western Europe except by long tradition helped by the use of the English language.

Under the dominance of New England, the northern people tended to an interracial democracy of free thinkers engaged in trade; the southern aristocrat with negro labour was a loyal Churchman who occupied himself on large plantations and farms. When the clash between the two sections came to a head, the real issue, however much it may have been obscured by local conditions, was the revolt of the commercial democracy of the north against the agricultural aristocracy which had up to that time governed the country.

When in the twentieth century the Great War came, both sections united as one people showed supreme courage, humanity, and wisdom. They fought magnificently by the side of the British, they poured out money without stint for the relief of the exhausted peoples of Europe, and they declined to support the impossible treaties which followed the war or to attend the wrecked and empty Conferences of the Allies.

The middle of the eighteenth century was the turning-point of empire for the Western Powers of Europe. The wars between Great Britain and Spain in 1739 marked the coming crisis of a struggle all over the world by these nations for the possession of territory for colonial settlement, and for monopoly of trade east and west. The days of isolated piratical adventure were gone by. For success in what could be only a naval struggle the command of the sea was essential. It was the possession of this command of the sea at the crucial moment which gave Great Britain her Empire. Cut off by their insular position from the military obligations of France and Spain, the British continued to increase their shipping both naval and mercantile, and with it their trade all over the world. The continental nations, intent on military superiority, neglected their navies, subordinating sea power to the necessities of their military operations on land. When for a moment we lost command of the sea in 1781, it was followed by the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

The French navy was inferior to that of the British, and continued to be so both in ships and guns. When

the Seven Years' War opened the naval power of Great Britain was twice that of France, which had been sixty years before equal or superior. In 1755, before war was declared, the British seized, after the fashion of those days, numbers of French men-of-war and merchantmen. The events in the Indian seas are vitally affected by the necessity under which the French lay of operating with their fleets in American and West Indian waters.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR AND AFTER

Section I. The War in the West

In the middle of the eighteenth century there was no sign either in eastern or western waters of the sudden leap to imperial superiority which was to come to the islanders after 1756. The subsequent success was due solely to the immense preponderance of the British at sea. At first they made little use of this superiority. Writing of the position in 1747, after a disastrous defeat of an inferior French fleet by Hawke, M. Lapeyrouse Bonfils says: "The British naval forces, without any rivals, passed unmolested over the seas. In one year they are said to have taken from French commerce £7,000,000 sterling. Yet this sea power, which might have seized French and Spanish colonies, made few conquests from want of unity and persistence given them."[1]

Apart from their superiority in ships and guns, the outlook at the opening of the Seven Years' War was by no means favourable to the British. Madras, which had been still held by the French in spite of the terms of surrender, had been exchanged at the Peace in 1748 for Louisburg in Cape Breton, which had been captured by the American colonists assisted by the fleet. Montcalm held Canada strongly, and the chain of outposts which the French had built along the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi to connect Canada and Louisiana effectively shut off the British from the west, a connection which the French were bound for their own safety to retain. But not only was the French colonial population much inferior in numbers to the British (*e.g.* 80,000 in Louisiana, as

against 1,250,000 in the thirteen British colonies), but it was far scattered, far more exposed to dangerous Indian raids, and in Canada badly off for food. In India they were badly off for food, war material and money. "Money," says Orme, "is of the most service in the wars of Hindostan." Yet the French at the outbreak of the war showed a resource and vigour which were wanting both in the British government and its officers.

In the home waters the French navy made a feint from Brest of invading the islands, keeping the British fleet busy in the Channel while they assembled a fleet at Toulon and, convoying 15,000 troops, landed at Minorca. The British fleet under Admiral Byng gave battle to their ships, but after an indecisive engagement the British retired to Gibraltar and Byng was sent home to be shot. In the west operations were no more favourable. The French, by their line of forts, held back the British from advance to the west; the Virginian authorities negotiated, sending Major George Washington of the Virginian militia as an envoy to the French commandant, whom he found at a post near Lake Erie. Receiving no favourable reply, they sent Washington in 1754 to attack the French. As they met the French advancing, Washington retreated to a place called Great Meadows, where he entrenched his force. Here it was compelled to surrender to the French. This was followed in 1755 by an expedition of British troops, commanded by General Braddock, to operate with the assistance of the colonists, Washington being on his staff, against Fort Duquesne, now called Pittsburg. Braddock knew nothing of the country, despised equally the Virginian militia and the dangers of Indian warfare in the woods and mountains. A few miles from the fort they fell into an ambush of French and Indians, and, cooped up in a narrow space, disdaining to take cover or in any way adapt themselves to the conditions, they were butchered without chance of effective reply. The army fled in a rout, Braddock dying on the way back near Great Meadows. The Virginians were left to defend their frontiers from the Indians, whose worst passions had been aroused by

the conflict. The French and Indians raided all the west line of the colonies. The horrors which the Indians inflicted on the helpless women and children of the colonists rivalled the tortures of the Iroquois on the French missions which the New Englanders had refused to assist in quelling.[2] Under such conditions the colonists showed at their best; under Washington the border was put into such a state of defence that the enemy ceased to attack it. But the work was done by them with little assistance from Europe, and in the face of the incompetence of officials of the colony appointed from home.

Meanwhile Montcalm in Canada defeated incapable British generals, and took Fort William Henry on the north-east frontier, while the New England colonists drove all the French civilians out of Acadia. A large British fleet at Halifax refused to engage a fleet, possibly superior, of the French, and did nothing.

Section II. The War in the East

In India the two trading Companies managed at first to keep the peace. Clive, coming back from England to Bombay in 1755 with three companies of artillery, finding the truce still existing, attacked Gheria, seventy miles south of Bombay, and handed it to the Mahrattas in exchange for Bankot, the first possession of the Company on the western mainland; he then went to Madras. The scene of the operations in India was now to shift to the north-east.

Taking advantage of the invasion of Nadir Shah (*supra*, p. 314), Alivardi Khan, the nabob of Behar, had in 1739 revolted. On the death of the Subadar of Bengal in battle, he assumed in Bengal his office and authority. He spent most of his time afterwards fighting the Mahrattas, who held possession of Orissa until 1813, terrorising the whole of India in spite of all the efforts of the Indians and British. Ridding himself of his rivals, Alivardi Khan ruled the province until he died in his eightieth year in 1756. He was succeeded by his grandson, known as

Surajah Dowlah (see note *supra*, p. 312). This young man picked a quarrel with the British and, probably hoping for plunder, attacked their settlements in Bengal, which were ill-prepared for defence. He easily took Calcutta; the British traders and settlers, after they had made the best defence possible, escaped, headed by the governor, in boats down the river to Fulta, where most of them succumbed to fever. The few Europeans left, to the number of 146, including one brave woman who refused to leave her husband, were put, in the hottest weather, into a guard-room some twenty feet square, called the Black Hole, out of which twenty-three only came alive in the morning. The excuse given, as is always the case in such matters, was that this was done by a subordinate.

On hearing of the fall of Calcutta the Madras authorities sent a force under Clive, on some ships commanded by Admiral Watson, to the Hugli. The ships, as it was in the time of the northern monsoon, had to go across the bay to Arakan, and by the middle of the bay to the eastern mouths of the Ganges, and so to Balasor and the Hugli. "On our arrival in the Ganges" in January 1757, says Clive, "we found the unhappy remains of a once flourishing colony on board a few merchant ships in that river." They stormed Hugli, and then, in spite of the friendly relations with the French at Chandernagore, on war being declared, took Chandernagore and destroyed it. The whole course of events was accompanied by conferences, negotiations and delays. At first Clive and Watson made a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Surajah Dowlah after defeating his armies, but, suspecting his good faith, the British plotted to depose him and made a secret treaty with Meer Jaffier, an officer in his army, who had married the daughter of Alivardi Khan, the treaty providing that all the land lying to the south of Calcutta as far as Culpes should be under the zemindari of the English Company.

During all these negotiations and treaties each party thoroughly distrusted the other, and lied in turn, looking to a fresh turn which would bring about a rearrangement of friends and enemies. A noted incident in the events

is that Omichund, a rich Sikh banker who was necessary for the business, threatened to disclose the plot with Meer Jaffier to Surajah Dowlah unless he were well paid. Clive showed him a duplicate copy of the treaty, in which a provision for payment to him was inserted, which was not in the original. However Omichund may have felt about the deceit, he continued to do business with the Company, and on his death left money to the Foundling Hospital.

All things being ready, Clive wrote to Surajah Dowlah accusing him of a variety of matters; without waiting for a reply he moved with an army to attack him. Plassey followed: Clive with three thousand men and eight or ten guns against Surajah Dowlah's fifty thousand foot, eighteen thousand horse, and fifty heavy guns. The heavy guns, drawn by long teams of oxen, proved very unmanageable; Meer Jaffier, with his forces in the nabob's armies, doing nothing, waited on the issue. Surajah Dowlah fled, but was captured, and was murdered by Meer Jaffier's son. After the battle the Twenty-four Perganas, a block of land about 880 miles square, was given to the Company, but a life interest was reserved for Clive, who died in 1774, in its revenues.

Warren Hastings, then a writer in the service of the Company, served under Clive.

From this time the nabob of Bengal was a dummy appointed by the officials of the Company, to be dismissed at once if he acted contrary to its interests.

Section III. The Changed Position of the Company's Servants

From this moment the Company, representing the British Empire in the East, was secure; its subsequent history under some very great governors-general is the story of the gradual reduction under its authority of the entire continent, and its fate as it was drawn under the evil and corrupt influence of the British Parliament until the Company came to an end in 1858. We are apt to overlook, in the magnificence of Clive's victory, the

revolution which the new policy made in the position of the Company as a band of traders. At first a body of honest, peaceable traders, making their way by their good faith and close attention to business, they had followed the French in their career of conquest, and they experienced the same evil consequences from the sudden accession to enormous wealth of a number of poor, badly paid officials, irresponsible to any authority which could check them, emulating with, for the moment, almost limitless material, the evil example of the politician at home. Enormous sums were given to Clive and the chief officials, and handed over to the officials for the survivors and kinsfolk of the sufferers in the Black Hole. These great gifts acted very greatly to the detriment of the Company and its trade, so much so that when Vansittart relieved Clive in 1760 the treasury was empty and the Company bankrupt.

The British set up and pulled down one dummy nabob after another, recouping themselves for the payment of the troops employed by the rents of districts obtained by them from the nabob of the time.[3] Of this removal of a nabob who was their ally, Captain Thornton, in his "History of the East India Company" (1833), says: "It is a transaction which it is idle to attempt to palliate." Later he says of the seizure of the fort of Patna by the British in 1763 from the troops of the nabob: "It was an act of treachery which produced immediate war and which it is hopeless to attempt to palliate." Men of Thornton's day, who were close enough to those days to see the dangers of corrupt practices, were not afraid to call attention to such things. It is equally necessary now, when we are obsessed in all our dealings with other peoples with the belief in the moral superiority of the Anglo-Saxon.[4]

It would be quite a mistake to suppose that the men in command of Bengal and Madras were of a lower moral type than other men, or that their conduct was exceptional. The age was an age of utter bureaucratic corruption, in which brave men poorly paid, daring death in an unhealthy climate under conditions which invited corrupt methods,

could not be expected to be any better than the men in power at home, who strained political immorality to its limits until in 1801 the younger Pitt passed the Act of Union for Ireland by every variety of bribery and fraud. The French were no better, but probably rather worse. All chance of Lally's success from 1758 onwards was destroyed by the opposition of the officials whom he attempted to curb at Pondicherry. When he was defeated at Wandiwash it was not by superior strategy but by mutiny and starvation brought about by the dealings of the French officials whose evil practices he tried to stop.

Undoubtedly the nineteenth century saw a great uplift not only of British politics, under the influence of the example of a pure and honest queen, but with that an improvement in the political sense of all the races over whom she ruled. They learnt to believe it to be possible that other peoples should be governed from these islands without bribery or chicanery, and that justice should be impartially and honestly administered without payment. Under her rule, with our own advance in honesty, we lifted up with us the peoples of India, so far as highly intellectual races, whose elaborate religious systems and codes of scientific law antedate our own by many centuries, could be taught by the example of the British in India that they need not bribe their rulers to obtain justice. I do not suppose that there is in the world a finer, more devoted body of men than the British India Civil Servants, or any class so unselfish in the gift of their lives to their work. But they are no more safe from temptation than men of other lands and races, and their principles, upheld only by a splendid tradition, and their work, are always in danger of being wrecked by the politician at home posing for the applause of the gallery.

Although the French at Chandernagore, hoping for neutrality, were overwhelmed, the French in the Carnatic were continuing their aggressive policy against the British. While Clive was fighting Surajah Dowlah and organising in Bengal, Bussy invaded Orissa, seized the British factories, and made conquests on the coast north of Madras. Then

in April 1758 a new commander, a brilliant soldier, Lally, in command of twelve hundred men in nine ships, came to Fort St. David. But to add to the difficulties of the French, Lally and the French Commodore D'Aché were from the first on bad terms. After an indecisive action at sea with the British, Fort St. David, unrelieved from Madras, fell. After a second action D'Aché, having quarrelled with Lally, set sail for the Isle of Bourbon. Lally, being unable to undertake any operations which required naval help, attacked Madras. D'Aché, finding the islands destitute of provisions, came back to India after writing to the French Minister of the Navy that he was about to leave, only to save the crews from dying of hunger, and that nothing need be expected from the squadron if supplies were not sent.

Madras was relieved by a British fleet and, D'Aché coming, a third indecisive action was fought, the British, though very inferior in numbers and weight, boldly attacking his superior fleet. After this the French fleet finally left India.

Meanwhile Lally was compelled to fight not only the British but the officials at Pondicherry, who saw that their era of enrichment at the expense of the French king, the French Company, and the natives was coming to an end. They starved his troops until they became mutinous, until he was compelled by his conditions of distress to give battle to a superior force commanded by Sir Eyre Coote at Wandiwash in 1760, and was utterly defeated. Then he defended Pondicherry until January 1761, when hunger forced a capitulation. In 1763 he was sent to the Bastille and in 1766 executed.

With this final defeat of Lally the conflict with the French in India may be said to have ended. They lost because the British had command of the sea. I quote from Mahan's "Sea-Power in History," p. 294: "When the expedition under Wolfe was on its way to Quebec, Montcalm, whose skill and determination had blocked the attack by way of Lake Champlain the two previous years, had written urgently for reinforcements; but they were

refused by the Minister for War, who replied that in addition to other reasons it was too probable that the English would intercept them on the way and that the more France sent the more England would be moved to send."

Section IV. Sea Power—Quiberon Bay and Quebec

Choiseul had given up the East and was concentrating his ships and preparing transports for an invasion of England and Scotland, while a superior British navy was blockading the French navy in Brest, from which they could not escape so long as the wind was westerly. To quote Mahan again: "The effect in this and after wars was to keep the French in a state of constant inferiority in the practical handling of their ships however fair showing their outward appearance or equal their numerical force." Choiseul's intended invasion was frustrated by the brilliant victory of Lord Hawke over a French fleet in Quiberon Bay in November 1759, and Wolfe went to Canada to attack Montcalm at Quebec. Louisberg had fallen in 1758, and the British fleet controlled the St. Lawrence and landed the troops from the ships for the final attack. With the fall of Quebec in 1759 the end of the French colonial empire came. Montreal, which had stubbornly held out against the British armies encircling it, fell in 1760, while the British ships prevented any succour from France. Great Britain sat then, as now, with her face to the Far East: France, entangled in a European combination against Prussia as well as Great Britain, with her face to the Rhine and the Mediterranean. "To sum up," says Mahan, "France was forced to give up her conquests for want of a navy, and England saved her position by her sea power, though she failed to use it to the best advantage."

Section V. The Fur Companies and the West

After the expulsion of the French by the British from Canada (a measure necessary, so Franklin said, for the repose of the thirteen colonies) there is little relating either

to empire or trade which need concern us in the west until the colonials, relieved from their fear of the French, joined with the French against the mother country.

In the west the middle and southern colonies suffered from terrible Indian wars and massacres. In the north, after the capture of Quebec, a number of Jacobites left Scotland and came to Canada, joined, after the American Revolution, by the loyalists from the United States. These Scots continued the French fur trade, but they had a good deal of trouble with the Indians. Then the Hudson Bay Company began to push out west and south. From now on there is a perpetual battle for trade between the two sets of traders, and between them and the American colonists from Hudson Bay to Lake Superior, and a building of forts against one another. Their squabbles, and the evils which they told the Indians of each other, combined with the sale of spirits by the traders to the Indians, brought about attacks by the Indian tribes.

The further tale of Canada and the north resolves itself into two parts: a determined pressure out to the west all along the line until they reached the Pacific coast and, when the nineteenth century comes, a struggle between the fur trade and the interests of agriculture in the north-west. The same old story of the monopoly and the interloper, the formation of the new Company and its union with the old, marks each stage of the progress. It is a long extended and interesting story, but there is no space to follow it here. It is an epic of endurance and courage, full of exciting episodes and of historical incident. One of the most pathetic of these was the attempt by Lord Selkirk between 1803 and 1815 to emigrate a large number of Highland Scots to Prince Edward Island and the Hudson Bay territories, sending large parties to settle on the Red River. The trouble arose over the feeding of these colonists in an uncultivated country; the Governor of the Hudson Bay Company refused to allow food to be taken out of his country, and the agents of the Canadian North-West Company persuaded the greater part of the colonists to leave for Canada, and set on the Indians to destroy the

rest. This was followed by a war between the Canadian Company and Lord Selkirk, half-heartedly supported by the Hudson Bay Company, which went on until the two fur Companies were united in 1821. But Rupertsland was closed for many years to settlement. The end of all, after forty years of dispute and incipient war, came in 1862, when the Hudson Bay Company sold out under pressure for £1,500,000 to the International Financial Association, and in 1867 surrendered on terms its sovereign rights. This was followed in 1869 by a rebellion of the half-breeds under Louis Riel, put down by a force under Sir Garnet Wolseley. Except for an incident in the American Revolution, we leave the American continent.

I do not propose to follow further the very wide subject of the military history of India, the scene of some of the most magnificent deeds of the British army. After Plassey, an expedition from Bengal under Colonel Forde defeated the French army, stormed Masulipatam, and, returning to Bengal, defeated the Dutch at Chinsura. In 1761 the Mahratta army was absolutely destroyed at Panipat by the forces of the Mogul. By the end of 1761 the French had no military force or fortified posts left in India.

About the middle of the eighteenth century the Danes had established themselves at Serampore in Bengal. After the seizure of the Danish fleet in 1807 the British in 1808 took the town and seized the vessels in the harbour. It was restored in 1815, but the Company was bankrupt and the town was sold to the British in 1844. In 1805 the Dutch settlement at Chinsura in Bengal was, with Malacca, exchanged for British interests in Sumatra.

In 1762 a force from Madras seized Manilla, which was returned to Spain at the Peace of 1763. The period after the Seven Years' War was filled with various combinations of war, not by any means always successful, and with varying degrees of corruption and inefficiency, interspersed with magnificent deeds of arms. After many sanguinary wars the British, under a series of great governors who in the face of incompetence and jealous interference by the

ministers at home organised honest civil administration, gradually asserted their predominance over the whole continent, leaving a very large part in the hands of native rulers, under a very slight British suzerainty. Of such great governors one may mention the names of Warren Hastings, Lord Minto, the Marquis of Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, Lord Wellesley, Lord Canning, and Lord Lytton. Of the Marquis of Hastings, governor-general in old age for nine and a-half years, it is said "he never went to the Hills and never failed to be at his desk at four o'clock in the morning." During his time wars concluded by annexation were waged with Nepal, resulting in the Gurkhas becoming part of our army. After suffering much, the Governor-General attacked the Mahratta chiefs and made a complete settlement of the Mahratta question. He also put down piracy on the Malabar coast and from the Red Sea. With the political and military side of Indian history I shall deal no further.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE TRADE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Section I. The Inland Trade

The progress and nature of the trade of the East India Company is a matter of much interest. When Clive went back to command in India in 1763, one of the most important difficulties with which he had to deal was the regulation of the inland trade. As the people still worked, not in factories but in their homes, a natural condition to which Mahatma Gandhi would now wish them to return, the European merchant must go into the interior, collect the goods piecemeal, and store them in local warehouses until sufficient has been procured to make up a cargo. The agents of the Company had to make advances against the goods, and take great care that they were not sold afterwards to some one else. Besides goods of cotton and silk, the Company did a business in indigo (see *infra* the indigo case).

The Company had obtained that goods bought in this manner for export to Europe should be free from the numerous vexatious duties charged in each district, their Indian competitors paying duty, a privilege giving them supreme advantage. It was an advantage very liable to abuse. Such a system laid open the way to private trade on their own account by the servants of the Company and their friends, and any persons, European or native, to whom by collusion they chose to sell or to allow the use of their privileges. The Company's servants encroached on their privilege so as to avoid payment of duties when goods bought in one district were sold in another. Their encroachments grew until they led to every variety of oppression of the native and of the native trader. They forced these to

sell to them at a fourth of the value, and to buy their goods at the Company's own price. Various other outrages were committed, not only by the servants of the Company but by others, alien and native, sheltering themselves under the Company's privileges.[1]

Cossim Ali, the nominee nabob of the Company, attempted a remedy by abolishing all duties for all parties for two years. But to this the Council (with the exceptions of Vansittart and Warren Hastings) would not agree. They were now too powerful for the nabob. After the seizure of the fort at Patna Cossim Ali made a massacre of such Europeans as he could reach. A bloody war followed, by which he was driven out and Meer Jaffier was reinstated. Meer Jaffier promised them the desired trade privileges, a cession of territory, and huge compensation for the cost of the war. When he died an improper nominee was made nabob by the Council, immense presents being taken by the members for this act. Clive compelled the Company's servants to execute a covenant by which they agreed to refuse the acceptance of any present.[2] Clive recalled from the interior all Europeans not stationed there in an official capacity, but started a Society of Trade for a monopoly by the higher officials of the Company of the inland trade in salt, betel nut, and opium. He did not consider that without this additional means the badly paid servants of the Company could live.[3]

Writing to the Court of Directors in September 1765, Clive speaks very strongly of the desperate condition in which he found affairs.[4] "The sudden and among many the unwarrantable acquisition of riches had introduced luxury in every shape, and in its most pernicious aspect . . . it is no wonder that corruption should find its way to a spot so well prepared to receive it . . . the large sums of money acquired by Donation were so publicly known and vindicated that every one thought he had the right to enrich himself, at all events, with as much expedition as possible; the monopoly of salt, betel, tobacco, etc., was another fund of immense profit to the Company's servants, and likewise to such others as they permitted to enjoy a share, while not a Rupee of advantage accrued to the Government and

very little to the Company from that trade. . . . At the time of my arrival I saw nothing that bore the form or appearance of government . . . how much must the expectations of your army be raised, when they are suffered without control to take possession for themselves of the whole booty, Donation money and plunder on the capture of a city. . . . The sources of tyranny and oppression, which have been opened by the European agents acting under the authority of the Company's servants, and the numberless black agents and sub-agents, acting also under them, will I fear be a lasting reproach to the English name in this country; it is impossible to enumerate the complaints that have been laid before me by the unfortunate inhabitants, etc. etc."

Section II. The Effect on the Company

As may be expected, the acquisitions of great territory and all the expenses of administration were bad for trade and unprofitable to the Company. The high officials got rich, but the Company itself fell into such financial difficulties that it was obliged in 1773 to borrow £1,000,000 from the Government, a loan only obtained by submitting the affairs of the Company to the control of a most corrupt Ministry. Clive in 1765 advised and completed the transference of the Diwani, the right to collect the revenues as *publicanus*, of Bengal, which was estimated to bring in a profit of £1,700,000 to the Company over a territory the size of France. He looked to this grant of the Diwani to remedy the corruption which diverted the revenues from the Company, and it seems to have had that effect, at least after a time. Warren Hastings in 1774 restored the solvency of the Company.

In 1770 there was a terrible famine in Bengal, in which about one-third of the population perished. The usual revenues were, in spite of it, collected, the double government of the Mogul and the British relieving both of responsibility. Then in 1772 Warren Hastings became the first governor-general. The government of Bengal, when he was appointed, was in a state of anarchy, as a result of the double

government, the famine, and the various wars. The country was overrun by brigands, the Courts of Law were worthless, and many of the best officials had died or been killed. Hastings made a settlement of the inland trade, prosecuted the brigands vigorously, and reformed the administration of the law. He desired most properly "to found the authority of the British government in Bengal on its ancient laws." It is hardly surprising that the corrupt politicians at home prosecuted both these great men who had attempted to stem the tide of corruption in India, and who had organised government on solid foundations. It would appear now, as then, to be a thoroughly wrong principle that the great governor-general of India should be appointed and be removed by the temporary minister at home who represents, not the people of the Empire, but a majority of the moment of the voting people of Great Britain. In Clive's time the directors in England, having no knowledge of India, and frequently no knowledge of its trade, expected enormous profits without corresponding outlay. In 1766 Clive had to meet an incipient mutiny of British officers, in consequence of the stoppage of extra pay, as an economy of the directors.

The chief exports from Bengal were the cotton goods, calicoes, and muslins, and the silk raw and manufactured, industries of the East from the earliest times. This part of the trade is treated of in Appendices R and S.

Section III. Indigo

Besides these, which formed the bulk of the trade (Appendix S), another great article of export from India was indigo. Indigo has been manufactured in India from the very earliest times. It was first exported from India by the Dutch about 1660. The Indian indigo was, however, unable to compete with the French West Indies in its production as long as Hayti was in French hands. The first European who planted indigo in India was said to have been a Frenchman from Marseilles, Louis Bonnaud, who came in 1777, having learnt the processes in the West

Indies. In a short time indigo became an important export of the Company, the amount exported in 1790 being 531,619 lb. In 1795 Bengal exported to England 2,955,862 lb. Its connection with rent and land ownership is told in Appendix T. About 1800 the supply from the United States ceased, the cultivation of indigo increased so enormously that the market was glutted, and an attempt was made in 1815 to reduce the supply by closing down factories.

Opium as an article of export is treated of below.

Section IV. The Trade with China—Tea

Besides the inland trade with the people of Hindostan, the trade in calicoes, muslins, silks and other stuffs, indigo and spices, a very large trade grew up with China in four commodities—tea, opium, silk, and porcelain. The growth of the tea trade was very slow in the seventeenth century, checked by want of markets, Dutch and Portuguese competition, the need for heavy bribes to the mandarins, and generally by the contemptuous jealousy on the part of the Chinese for the foreign trader. By 1715 English merchants were established at Canton, the trade on the part of the Chinese being in the hands of a monopoly called the Hong. In the first half of the eighteenth century the Company had the advantage of the monopoly over an enormous growth of the tea trade, but subject to an import duty of four shillings in the pound. In 1867 tea was three-fifths in value of all the exports from China. But since 1886 the exports of tea have very greatly declined both in bulk and value. In 1825 Bruce discovered the tea plant growing in Assam. After the cultivation of it had been repeatedly recommended by experts, tea planting became an industry, but nearly twenty years passed before it was a commercial venture, and many more before it began to drive out China tea in the British Empire. In 1905 the consumption in the islands was—China, 6,658,966 lb.; India, 150,530,446 lb.; Ceylon, 89,385,901 lb.; and others, 12,513,284 lb. Tea and tin were exchanged, and tea and silver for opium from India.

The tea trade with China is responsible for a decisive incident in American history. The East India Company had a monopoly of the trade, but tea paid an extremely heavy duty in the islands. Owing to the excessive duty an enormous smuggling business grew up, which it was impossible to prevent. In 1769 the British Government had imposed a small import duty on tea entering the American colonies, as a means for helping to pay for the war with France. The East India Company, having in 1772 a very large quantity of tea in its warehouses unsold, and being at that time in a condition of pecuniary embarrassment, obtained leave to export it to the American colonies without employing agents. The colonists refused to purchase it on account of the duty, choosing to view the shipment as an attempt to tax the colonies. The smugglers who would have been injured by the purchase of the tea disguised themselves as Indians and threw the tea into Boston harbour. The American Revolution followed this and other exhibitions of patriotism. In 1784 the duty was reduced and smuggling ceased.

Besides the losses arising from the competition of the patriotic smuggler, the East India Company in its monopoly had to meet the prices of a home-made tea trade.

Mr. Richard Twining ("Observations on the Tea and Window Act and on the Tea Trade," 1785) says of the adulteration of tea at that time, owing to the very heavy duties and consequent high price: "It is well known that very large quantities of leaves are manufactured in this island for the express purpose of adulterating teas. These leaves are prepared in various ways in order to suit the various kinds of tea." He gives the method of making smouch with ash-tree leaves to mix with black teas. "When gathered they are just dried in the sun, then baked; they are next put up on a floor and trodden upon until the leaves are small, then sifted and steeped in copperas with sheep's dung; after which being dried on a floor they are fit for use. The quantity manufactured at a small village and within eight or ten miles thereof cannot be ascertained; but it is supposed to be about twenty tons in a year. One

man acknowledges to have made six cwt. every week for six months together. The fine is sold at £4 4*s*. per cwt., equal to 9*d*. per lb. The coarse at £2 2*s*. per cwt., equal to 4½*d*. per lb. Elder buds are manufactured in some places to represent fine teas." Among the Acts passed to check this practice 4 Geo. II, c. 14, section 11, enumerates as adulterants sloe leaves, liquorice leaves, leaves of used tea, terra japonica, sugar, molasses, clay, and logwood; and 17 Geo. III, c. 29, recites "that this trade had increased to a very great degree to the injury and destruction of great quantities of timber, woods and underwoods."

There was and is a very large overland trade between Russia and China by caravan to Kiachta, about 300 miles east of Irkutsk. It is south of Lake Baikul. The value of the trade in 1830 was estimated at 150 millions of paper roubles at 10½*d*.

Section V. The Trade with China—Opium

The trade in opium was a matter of dispute from an early date, a series of misunderstandings and unjustifiable acts. Opium was very early introduced into China by the Arabs. About the time when the Scottish Solomon issued his counterblast to tobacco, the Mogul inveighed against its use in India, and the Chinese emperor attempted to put down the use of opium in China. Again, early in the eighteenth century, the Chinese government attempted to prohibit the use of the drug. Fryer, writing from Malabar in the seventeenth century, says that wrestlers use opium "to make them perform things beyond their strength." Besides its use as a medicine of very great value, it was generally used for smoking mixed with tobacco and was eaten as a soothing narcotic. It is extremely difficult to ascertain either its virtues or its evil influence. When David said that all men were liars, he must have had in mind the advocates for and against opium. There is in all the large literature of the subject hardly a work in which a moderate view is taken. It is sufficient to quote an opinion from each side. Sir George Birdwood, M.D., Professor of Materia

Medica, Botany, Anatomy, and Physiology at Grant College, and Curator of the Government Central Economic Museum, Bombay, an expert with the widest life-long knowledge of the subject, after a life spent in India, says of the dispute between the Chinese people and their government, that the success of the Chinese people over their government as to the use of opium was of incalculable benefit to them, "as it served gradually, wherever opium smoking prevailed, completely to entice them away from the use of their native ardent spirits. The abolition of government manufacture of opium in India would be the undoing of probably the greatest temperance triumph of any age or country. Opium smoking is almost as harmless an indulgence as twiddling the thumbs. The habitual eating and drinking of opium are altogether different things. Opium taken internally is a powerful and dangerous narcotic stimulant; but even so it is no worse in the effects produced by excessive use than alcohol." Again: "As the result of a very long medical and official experience, I never met with a single native suffering or who ever had suffered from the habitual use of opium. As for opium smoking I am satisfied from my own experience of it that it is as innocuous as smoking hay, straw or stubble. Opium in brief is one of the greatest gifts of Providence to the people of the tropics, above all because its use, like tea, coffee and tobacco, anticipates and allays the natural thirst of mankind for alcoholic stimulants." I could give a dozen other quotations of the same kind from men equally experienced in the East.

"I trace," says Sir George, "the outcry against opium entirely to the commercial jealousy of the Dutch in the last century of the trade when they began to spring up in this article between India and China."

On the other hand, putting to one side the long list of London physicians and other home authorities quoted by Mr. Joshua Rowntree in "The Imperial Drug Trade," 1905 (has he ever been in India or China ?), he quotes Eastern opinions condemning opium smoking as being more dangerous than eating, as, for instance, the Commissioner of Excise, Central Provinces, in 1892, who says: "Every effort should

no doubt also be made to put a stop to the smoking of opium in all its forms, practices which are universally condemned as degrading and pernicious by all native opinion with which I have come in contact." For an impartial layman no view is possible except "Be not drunk with anything wherein is excess." So far as eating opium is concerned, it would seem to be on much the same footing as the chewing of tobacco, which with the Confederate soldier in the later days of the civil war largely took the place of the food which could not be procured. Sir John Strachey, giving evidence before the Commission on Opium, says "The Sikhs in particular, who form so immensely an important part of our army, are almost invariably habitual consumers." In this he is supported by Sir Lepel Griffin.

But the treatment of the drug by the East India Company is another matter. The poppy was very largely cultivated in Bengal, and the East India Company derived from the sale of opium a great revenue. It is met with early in the Company's business as an article for private illicit trade (note 5, p. 273), and is early the subject of regulation by government. Mixing opium with tobacco, as in many cigarettes at the present day, was a common practice, especially in malarious regions such as the island of Formosa, from which the trade arose.

Then in 1729 the Chinese emperor issued an edict making dealings in opium a crime. At this time the opium imported into China from India was by the Portuguese from Goa, the amounts being very small, but gradually increasing yearly in spite of the edict. The British made their first shipment from Calcutta in 1773; by 1790, 4054 chests were imported; in 1796 and 1800 edicts were issued prohibiting the import of opium.

The importation had now become regularly contraband, which had the effect of turning the trade into the import of opium against cash payments in silver instead of in tea or silk. The men who ran in the opium brought it into the rivers in fast sailing-boats heavily armed, from ships lying outside the ports for the purpose; such men were not likely to wait to load up with heavy or bulky goods in return.

Of course, as happens in all traffic which is forced into illicit ways, the business attracted to itself all the worst characters to be found in the Chinese seaports. The situation was very much like that existing at the present time on the Atlantic coasts of the United States, where a complaint has been made that British ships lie outside the three-mile limit and discharge alcoholic liquors for the people of the United States.

The East India Company was in a difficult position. It had the monopoly of trade for many years in China, but it could not openly carry on contraband trade. In spite of the prohibition of import, the trade increased hugely, and the industry in Bengal increased with it. For the next forty years no attempt was made to enforce the edicts, the only difficulty experienced by the sellers and buyers of the Indian opium being the heavy bribes to the long series of officials for closing their eyes to the trade. The Chinese people wanted the opium and used it, from the mandarins downwards ; the Chinese officials made no objection so long as their dues were received ; the East India Company made a great revenue from the Bengal poppy. The Company took no part in the export and sale to China ; for that no one was responsible, a dangerous effect of State interference with regular trade. "The trade in opium," says the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1830, "which is altogether contraband, has been largely extended of late years, and is conducted by private merchants, British and American. The opium is readily disposed of in China."

I do not fancy that the Chinese government was at all concerned for the morals of its people any more than any other governments ; but as the opium, being a smuggled purchase, was paid for entirely in cash, there was a constant drain of the precious metals from China into India, to say nothing of the political and social demoralisation of all, officials and traders, attending the practice of smuggling. The only difficulty of the trade was the extortion of the mandarins. A witness before the Committee in 1830 was of opinion that if the British government replaced the Company the trade would be lost or injured, because the

representatives of the king could not temporise in the same way as the Company, possessing the double character of trading merchants and a great controlling power, had always been ready to do when indeed judged politic or necessary. His opinion was justified. The final trouble came when British officials replaced the Company in the dispute in 1838 and, as representatives of their government, claimed to negotiate on an equal footing with the Chinese. This was refused. The Chinese commissioner in March 1839 ordered the foreigners to give up all the opium in their possession and give bond to import no more. On refusal, they were imprisoned until they consented, and surrendered 20,291 chests from India, which were entirely destroyed.

A war followed between the British and Chinese Empires, ending in a treaty in 1842 by which Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai were opened as treaty ports ; Hong Kong was ceded to the British ; and an indemnity of some four and a-half million pounds was paid, which included a great sum as payment for the opium destroyed.

After this the smuggling went on in an increased and increasing scale, the import of opium rising from 20,619 in 1838 to some 50,000 chests in 1850 and 85,000 chests in 1860. Then in 1856, in consequence of untoward incidents always liable to accompany smuggling, there came a second war between the Empires—a war very happily timed for the British, as the troops intended for China were diverted to suppress the Indian mutiny, the French joining the British on account of the murder of a French missionary. The war ended with more indemnity, further privileges for trade, the appointment of a British minister at Pekin, and regulation of the opium trade by a tariff in November 1858. Further treaties and regulations have been made on the subject from time to time.

The evidence given by the witnesses before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the East India Trade in 1830 is instructive. One witness, a Scotsman, who was not a member of the Monopoly Company, did business in cotton and opium as a naturalised Portuguese subject. "In export," he said, "I smuggled very largely in

silver because it was a prohibited article. The parties who purchased the opium from the ship lying at Whampoa, twelve miles from Canton, paid at Canton; and then went to the ship, generally under cover of night, broke open the chests and put the opium into bags as being more handy." Another witness, Mr. John Aken, asked "Do you happen to know the method by which the opium is smuggled into the country?" replied, "They take it from alongside in smuggling boats that are well manned and armed, and they put off directly with it, and they set all the government boats at defiance. I have seen four mandarin boats surrounding my ship when I had thirty chests of opium to smuggle, and I was prevented from going to sea on account of the opium, and I sold it to the people. I went down myself and saw the way they smuggled it. They stripped the chest entirely away and took nothing but the opium, and put it into bags, and we open the lower deck port, and in one moment they put the opium into the boat, and all hands are off in a moment. We did that in a very heavy shower of rain. There was a cry out about three minutes afterwards, but the boat was gone like a shot." There was an understanding, he says, between the smugglers and the men in the mandarin boats. Altogether it must have been a very pretty trade.

The position at the present time is very ludicrous, according to the returns of the Maritime Customs of China for 1919. Written, apparently, by a close sympathiser of the Anti-Opium Association, it shows that in theory they have succeeded in preventing the use of *Indian* opium. The report says: "The importations of opium through the Japanese controlled ports of Darien and Tsingtao fell from 333 piculs (a picul is 133⅓ lb.) in 1918 to 156 piculs in 1919, and it may be hoped will disappear altogether shortly. Unfortunately, China can no longer point to the effective prohibition of opium cultivation within her borders. The government which in 1918 burnt publicly, as an earnest of its determination to eradicate the opium-smoking vice, 1200 chests of Indian drug at a cost of 24 million taels (a tael in 1919 was worth 6*s.* 4*d.*, but

this is an abnormal rise from former years) is compelled to look on hopelessly while the poppy flourishes over large tracts of the country, and the trade in, and use of, the drug show every sign of reviving. Poppy is reported to have been cultivated in 1919 : extensively in Yunnan, Kweichow, Szechwan, Kansu, Shensi, and Fukien; on a smaller scale in parts of Manchuria and Shantung. Chihli, Shansi, Henan, the Yangtze provinces, and Kwangtung were reported clear, and nothing has been alleged against Kwangsi.

"The quantities of opium seized by the Maritime Customs during the year amounted to 48,375 lb., or 21¾ tons. But as there is no article of food (*e.g.* mango steens, oranges, fresh fish, pastry, chocolates) or of domestic use (*e.g.* chairs, tables, birdcages, metal water-pipes, bellows, bedding) containing or capable of furnishing cavities of any size that is not now used as a vehicle for the drug it may be imagined how insignificant a proportion of the smuggled traffic these seizures represent and how futile they must be as a means of prevention.

"Add that steamers and railway carriages and their machinery seem to the smuggler specially designed to furnish convenient caches for his opium, and that nothing is easier than to conceal it in cargo (*e.g.* in awabi shells), and the hopelessness of affecting the traffic in any degree by seizures and confiscation will be admitted."

The Inspector-General of Customs need not despair. Under the head of exports from China to foreign countries are found cigarettes to the value of somewhere about £2,152,000. May one not fairly presume that these cigarettes manufactured in China contain, like those made in Turkey and Egypt and other malarious climates, opium? If so, the members of the International Anti-Opium Association who estimate the importation of morphia into China in 1919 as a million ounces can at any rate have their opium at home without disturbance.

W. S. Davidson, a Scot, giving evidence before the Select Committee in 1830, says: "The government of China and the trading people are so very distinct that

it is impossible to suppose one motive actuates both parties."

The belief that the "government" of China is actuated by a moral principle in its attack on the import into China of opium will not be accepted by any student of history. I have never heard or read of any government, especially one that is Republican, that had any moral sense, nor have I ever heard or read of any government which did not pretend that its actions whether of war or peace were always based on high moral principles. *Expellas naturam furca.*

Section VI. The Trade with China—Silk—The Trade of To-Day

Another product of trade with China was silk. It was from China, through the Arab traders of the Near East, that silk and the silkworm first came into Europe. But so great was the secrecy of the Orient that centuries elapsed before the connection between the silk and the worm was known. When the breeding of the silkworm and the manufacture of silk began in Europe it centred in Italy and around the Mediterranean Sea.

The early records of the East India Company contain a great number of references to the trade in silk with Persia, carried on from Surat,[5] relating to defective material, loss of weight, difficulties with the Persian king and notables, and the competition with the Dutch. In November 1634 two bales of Bengala silk are to be divided among three persons at twenty shillings a pound to make trial of, before sending out the next ships. China silks are occasionally mentioned in these times. So long as the Company continued as traders only and not as owners of territory they bought their goods in Persia, India, or China as the markets suited them, having always to compete with the Italian silks nearer home.

The trade in China silk grew in the eighteenth century to be enormous, and has continued to increase, taking the place of tea as the greatest article of export from the country. Silk and its products, says the Customs Report

of 1919, remain by far the most valuable of China's exports, raw silk alone representing 100 million taels, not far from £32,000,000.

In 1830 the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons states that the foreign trade, of which the Chinese government showed great jealousy, had been restricted to Canton, inside the walls of which the Company's servants were not supposed to go, but that this was a restriction not enforced. They were allowed in negotiation with the Chinese government to use the Chinese language. All other foreigners, says the report, were obliged to use European languages "whereby the government is enabled to put what construction it pleases upon the contents of the address."

The American interference with the Company's trade appears to have been considerable. Mr. Marjoribanks, a witness before the Committee, being asked what articles were imported into China in the shape of raw materials in the ships of the Company generally and by private persons from India, answered: "The great import of raw material into China in the ships of the Company from India is cotton from the Presidencies of Bombay and Bengal, and a small portion from Madras; there are pepper and betel nut and rattans and articles of that description which the Company of later years have left entirely to their officers, and is a part of the trade carried on by country ships" (ships plying between India and China).

At the present day the enormous volume of the trade of China with the world is best evidenced by enumerating only those exports from China which in 1919 were valued at over a million taels, not including several which were nearly a million in value. These are cotton goods of various kinds, iron and iron ore, pigs, beans (nearly 50 million taels), bran, bristles, millet, wheat, chinaware (not earthenware or pottery), cigarettes, clothing and boots and shoes, coal, coke, raw cotton, egg albumen and yolk, eggs, hemp, ramie, fireworks, firewood, flour, glasscloth, lace, lard, leather, liquorice, mats, meats fresh and preserved, medicines, nutgalls, oils (nearly 50 million taels), paper,

peas, salt, rape seed, sesamum seed, seed cake, silk (about 100 million taels), skins, hides, furs, straw braid, tallow, tea, timber, tobacco, varnish, vegetables, vermicelli and marcaroni, wool.

I doubt if we can afford to look down on the Chinaman so much in the future even if at the present moment we have superiority. See an article by David Fraser in *The Times* of September 15, 1922, entitled " The El Dorado of the Far East."

CHAPTER XXIX

MEDIAEVAL AND ORIENTAL FINANCE

Section I. Mediaeval and Oriental Land Revenue

All other obstacles confronting the rulers of any organised society, whether tribe, nation or empire, fade into shadows in comparison with the one difficulty never wholly surmounted, that of finding means for the necessary expenses of government. English history as it is taught in our schools is almost wholly concerned with the effort of the ruler to obtain the means necessary for carrying on affairs, and with the excuses for not paying made by the delegates of the people who have had the benefit of social protection, cloaking their refusal with the pretence of conserving liberty. Later one expects that such history should be concerned with the waste and ineptitude which accompanies what is called popular government, the anarchy when rule falls into the hands of those who have no knowledge of the fit use or of the limitations of wealth.

In every outpouring of the peoples, in every imperial adventure, the manner and extent rest on the ultimate profit to be gained for the community or for the adventurer. The movement may be the natural expansion of homogeneous races in mediaeval Europe when land is plenty and men few, or the reaching out of the emperors of China to the territories occupied by nomadic tribes north, west, and south of the empire; it may be the seizure of territory which follows the trading of the Scandinavian Vikings, or of the Mediterranean Crusaders, or of the similar outpourings of the Europeans in Asia and in the Americas. In each such case the gradual change from trading outposts permitted on sufferance to the seizure of territorial

sovereignty may be explained by the necessity felt by the small bodies of alien traders to provide for their own personal safety; or it may result from the insane desire which from time to time takes possession of a ruler or, far worse, of a nation to dominate by force the weaker and very often more intellectual and more moral people, as when the Turks overwhelm the Greeks, or the Germans the Poles, or the Austrians the Italians. You can find plenty of examples. In any case, whatever may be the political or theological or altruistic excuse put forward by the stronger, the returns for the outlay which can be wrung from the weaker, the taxes which can be collected, the products which can be exploited by concessions or by chartered companies, are at the back of the minds of those who desire territorial expansion. Will it pay?

The subject can be illustrated with effect from all times and all countries, for the course of change is always the same, the means and the results, varied by local conditions, the same always. It is the unceasing struggle of humanity to make ends meet, the one factor of real importance in political life.

The land and the products of the land form the basis of all revenue for the society. Where society is in the state in which we still find it in the larger part of our Empire, a tribal formation with some sort of village community as its basis, a knowledge of the social life of mediaeval Europe can help the imperial Briton to understand something of the customs which obtain in our Asiatic and African possessions at the present day, customs which show a likeness, so far as they have their origin in the same social instinct or are governed by the same causes. I would refer also to the remarks quoted on p. xli. as to the thirteenth century in West Africa.

Dealing with land as a source of revenue, either in the early Middle Ages in Europe or now in any part of the world where the communal society in any form still exists, there are certain things to be remembered.[1]

The individual has no ownership of the land. There is no landlord and no tenant. It is a long time before the

doctrine that there is no land which is not held of another person until it comes to the king becomes the recognised custom of the law.[2] The land rests in the entire people, in what we in England call the State. But one effect of our feudal teaching has been that in lands of Asiatics or Africans, of peoples of a different colour and religion over which we claim dominion, the State at the present day ceases to have the meaning, as it did in Europe in the Middle Ages, of the community. It represents for them the small knot of Europeans who act for their king as the federal government. In him the ownership of the land is supposed to rest. As his officers or nominees they take the greatest part of its products.

Where, as in communal societies ancient or modern, the State and the community are identical, the ruler, with large exceptions, had no rights in the land which were not shared in some proportion by the other members of the community. He is supported by food supplies, the produce of the soil granted to him for his services by the community. "Originally the foundation of every one's interest in land, whether it is the king's, or the landlord family's, or the cultivator's, is the grain heap, the natural produce, divided by some process or another, in kind."[3]

But certain agencies very early modify the society. The payments in kind are commuted for money, payments which, embodied in unchanging law, remain stationary while money values move. In England such a change was going on in the twelfth century; in India it occurred in the time of Akbar in the sixteenth century. It becomes a source of friction and civil war, applying to the history of empire an example of the dangers of unsound finance, the necessity for economy, and for frequent reconsideration of values.

The primitive simplicity of such a society lasts but a short time. It would be a great mistake to suppose, when speaking of the village communities of India, that they were all alike, or had all had the same origin or similar modes of growth (Appendix T); war and famine, invasion and conquest, indicate recurring variation in the social state. There is a perpetual giving away of rights over or

connected with the land, while leaving its ownership to one side—rights of fishing, of milling, of taking from the land or of subjecting the land to certain values.

As wealth increases, and with it the prosperity of the freeman or colonist, as the responsibilities of the ruler become greater and his expenses more onerous, there is always an effort on the part of the man responsible for the expenses of the government to obtain a larger share in the increase created by his protection. Otherwise he grows steadily poorer. On the other hand, the man who has profited by his protection, when once he is safe from the Scot or the French, rises in arms against the king, or throws the tea into the harbour, rather than pay his fair share of a new impost.

For instance, the valuation of land in Scotland in use in the time of Alexander III rested on an "old extent," an ancient valuation made long before in the course of the collection of revenue of all the temporal lands of the country. This, like the English Domesday Book, was preserved among the muniments of the Crown and referred to as a basis of taxation. As the value of lands changed and exceptional taxes were called for, a revaluation could be made. But it would be made in teeth of the strongest opposition of all who would have to pay the increase of tax. Yet if not increased the king became, as in fact all mediaeval kings were, a bankrupt and a beggar. The demand of the barons in Magna Charta, that the dues payable to the Crown should be stationary in spite of increasing cost and depreciation of values, was as absurd as if it were demanded that no one should pay a higher income tax in 1920 than he paid in 1913. This provision and others like it led directly, by the impoverishment of the Crown, to the barons' wars and to the loss of the English continental possessions, and indirectly to the loss of the American colonies. It created false ideals and false historical values.

The sources of income of the mediaeval ruler in Europe are of interest to us to-day, because in many respects, in dealing with our subject peoples, we use methods of

collection analogous to his, we draw revenue from similar sources, and are liable to equally catastrophic changes.

The income of the mediaeval king came in the first instance from the produce of the land, from the customary contributions drawn from the land, the food supplies of the chief, later commuted for money. There was the king's ferm or recognised contribution of the county, the settled contributions fixed of old time which he, or the sheriff, or the farmer for him, might receive as the acknowledgment of his headship, his protection as federal authority. There were the rents from his manorial lands, the dues estimated according to the needs of the former social community. As an example, the lands adjoining Forfar Castle were held on condition of supplying three hundred cartloads of peats for the king when he came to the castle.

Section II. The King's Casualties of Revenue—Litigation

Besides his stationary income the king had certain other contingent sources of profit with which to carry on government, but they were uncertain, and in consequence brought great temptation of misuse. The king lives, Giraldus scornfully asserts of Henry II and his sons, largely on perquisites, the casualties of wardship, of marriage, the payments on the death of a tenant, the profits of vacant offices lay and clerical, the profits which are large and constantly increasing of offences charged in courts of jurisdiction subject to the king and settlements made there between litigants. (Appendix U.)

Such sources of income are a perpetual incitement to enlarge the boundaries of the kingdom from which the perquisites are derived. In the new territory the mediaeval king can obtain money or produce by grant of a licence for fishing, or relief from a duty of using the king's mill, or the privilege of suing in his Court. The government of the modern empire can make money out of like grants, such as leave to cut timber; it can inflict on the subject country a horde of highly paid officials by

granting it a Western European Constitution, and as the "State" representing the federal power of the empire it claims the property in the land, the minerals, the timber, the control of the rivers, and in fact a control of all the sources of national wealth which may arise directly from the land.

Besides these sources of revenue there are others which have been considered above—the revenues from the forests or wastes, the customary dues on exports and imports, and the ferms and dues of various kinds which the king or lord could collect from his burghs, dues arising for the most part as the result of trade.

An Anglo-Indian official, describing the variety of sources of revenue in India, mentioning as of great value customs, excise and stamps, says of the income tax that it brings in no great amount, as, he says, "I fancy that there are few merchants who do not keep special books to show that they make little or no profit." Enumerating also government railways, ferries, etc. etc., and the road cess which, however, goes mainly to the local authorities, the main source of revenue, he says, is the land revenue. In most parts of India this means a great deal of money (Appendix V), but in the permanently settled country (Bengal and a great part of the United Provinces) it is far below what the State could fairly claim. But he cites a fellow official as saying that it made little difference, because in the permanently settled country rights are so hopelessly obscure that what the government loses in land revenue it gains in court fees. That is a huge source of revenue in Bengal. Every plaint has to be stamped with a percentage of the sum claimed.

An example of the litigation under which these fees accrue to the British Raj is the following story told by a commissioner in the United Provinces, as having been told to him personally by the man concerned. Compare it with the story of Richard D'Anesty in the English history books. The man, whom we will call B, was summoned to court as a witness to a quarrel. He testified, and the other man A was imprisoned. When A was out of prison, B's house was burnt down. Here B made a fatal error,

He reported it to the police. A policeman was sent to live on him until told to go. Then B was called to police headquarters thirty miles away to see some suspects. They were the wrong men. When released they revenged themselves by cutting down his crops and carrying off his goats. He consulted the Patwari,[4] who introduced him to an attorney of the court. It took him two days to get to the court. The attorney had to have ten rupees in advance, and made the man buy a stamped paper on which the attorney wrote something which he said was a petition. B could neither read nor write. Next day he could not present it until he had paid a rupee to the court usher.

An order was made to be taken to the deputy magistrate. On doing so he had to fee the court usher. Then it was referred for inquiry to the police. After many weeks he was sent for by the police. The policeman had to have ten rupees before acting. Then he came and viewed and took names of witnesses, but before leaving said that A had paid him fifteen rupees, and that unless B paid him ten more he would report it as a false and malicious complaint. B had to borrow the money from a money-lender.

After a delay, owing to his being ill with fevers, the case came on, and after prolonged hearing A produced a forged deed of sale by which the land on which the corn was cut appeared to be his. The case was dismissed. Then B bribed the village councillor to forge a deed of later date, and as A was played out and had no more money B won. "Agree with thine adversary quickly." Justice under British rule is much more expensive, and the delay in obtaining it greater. Even if successful the litigant is financially crippled for life; if he fails he is ruined.[5]

The mediaeval ruler, unlike the modern, if he is worth anything, is never resting. He is perpetually on the move, travelling through his dominions, organising, deciding disputes, consulting local men, exploring new sources of revenue. As he goes on circuit with his financial men and judges, he and his following eat up the rents of his scattered properties, the ferms, the dues of all descriptions in kind,

and collect the legal fees and other moneys with which to pay his court officials or his soldiers or his alms or gambling debts. If a local chief has been disagreeable and needs punishment, he can hardly have a worse one than for the king, with an army of followers, to pay him a friendly visit and live on him for a week or two.

Section III. The Village as a Unit for Taxation

I propose now, as a contrast to mediaeval conditions, to cite as a modern example of land as a source of revenue the conditions under which the permanent settlement of Bengal was made in 1793 by Lord Cornwallis. In India, as in mediaeval Europe, the revenue from the land has been from time immemorial the chief support of the emperor's government.

There had been no such complete change in India at any time as passed over Europe when the communal society was giving way to feudal custom. As each empire, each invasion of armed hordes from the north or west, swept over the country, it overlaid the social life of the community with scraps of new custom and usage, lay and religious, and enriched the plethora of languages with words from strange tongues. But it recognised the community as the unit with which to treat, and the chiefs only as representing the community, not the individual. Throughout all the waves of invasion the community remained while the dynasty grew or disappeared.

In spite of the tendency to change, the society continued to rest, as it does still in seven-eighths of our Empire, on status, the chief or lord acting for the community in many ways, either by express agreement or by implication. The chief himself could not resist the tendency which equally affected the Irish or Norman, which led him very gradually to cease to be co-partner and trustee of the bundle of rights and obligations which came in England to be called the manor.

"What we have to watch in early times," says that great historian, Mr. Maitland, "is not the transfer of

something called ownership from one sort of unit, whether tribe, clan, village community, or individual, to another. It is the crystallisation round several different centres and in very different shapes of that vague 'belongs,' which contains both public power and private right—power over persons, rights over things." As the British Empire expands and comes in contact with all kinds of peoples in all varieties of stages of the change called progress, you will do well to keep this in mind. "The Oriental administrator," says Mr. Baden-Powell, "avoids rigid rules and rarely attempts definition. That is why every Indian institution connected with landed rights or proprietary interests often presents seemingly contradictory and irreconcilable features; a man is what we call a landlord in one aspect, and something quite different in another aspect. This is distraction to the European ruler. To the Oriental mind it is highly satisfactory."

As time went on, the administrator of the powers and property of the European village gradually took to himself not only the powers and privileges of the chief, but he shook off the careful limitations by which every free community in the first instance checks the power of the leader; he was slowly moving to the position of sole owner, with powers only checked by the wreckage of the customary rights of the freeman which survived the change. As we have been brought up under the later conditions of change, with us now there is always a tendency to sacrifice the rights of the group family in our African and Asiatic possessions to a supposed individual ownership of the chief man and his friend the money-lender.

The village,[6] in which is included the district around the actual group of houses, with the tank, the pound, and the temple, the cultivated fields and some waste lands in forest and jungle, is the unit for the collection of revenue, though one man may contract to collect the revenue of a large area, including many villages. The formation of the village community varies in its internal relations all over the vast continent of India, varies also in its control over and use of the adjacent forest and jungle. According

to its form, the whole village might be assessed for a certain sum to be paid by the villagers as a joint body, or each holding might be assessed separately, each occupant paying his share without responsibility for others. But whatever form such variations may take, it remains that the members composing the village community have a definite close social relationship to one another, even where they are not connected with family ties; and their village government is untouched by any changes in the user of the soil by partition or lease or inheritance.

The whole economic condition of the Indian village is closely analogous to that of the mediaeval village in Europe in the twelfth century before the requirements of trade brought about a change.

Here is a description of the internal economy of an Indian village towards the close of the nineteenth century, taken from Baden-Powell, i. 150.

"The people require the aid of certain functionaries, artisans, and traders. They need a village messenger and night watch, as well as some one to guard the crops; if it is an irrigated village, probably some one will be required to distribute the water, to stop this channel and open that, when, according to the village custom of sharing the water, the different parties have had their share. A potter will be required to furnish the simple household utensils or to make water-pots where the Persian wheel is used in wells. A seller of brass or copper pots will also be found in larger villages. A cobbler will make the village shoes and the plough harness or gear. A carpenter will fashion the agricultural implements and help in the house-building. A money-broker will be needed, and some one to sell tobacco, drugs, salt, flour, spices, oil, and other necessaries of life. Sometimes a dancing girl is attached to the village; always a barber, who is the agent for carrying marriage proposals, besides his functions as barber and also surgeon. Sometimes there is an 'astrologer,' and even a 'witch-finder.' In England such artisans in a village would casually settle where the prospects of trade invited, and would indifferently accept work from any comer, being paid by the

job. But in India the village community invites or attracts to itself the requisite bands of artisans, finds them almost exclusive employment, and does not pay by the job for the services rendered, but establishes a regular income or customary mode of annual payment, on receipt of which every village resident is entitled to have his work done without further (individual) payment. In Central India, where the system of remuneration by 'watan,' or official holdings of land, found most favour, we find not only the headman and the accountant with their official holdings of land, but also petty holdings rent-free for the potter, the sweeper, the water-carrier, etc. In other places the more common method was to allow the artisans certain definite shares when the grain was divided at the harvest; besides which they received periodically certain perquisites in the shape of blankets, shoes, tobacco, or sugar-cane juice."

As in mediaeval Europe, so in India, the revenue was first taken by a share in the heap of grain on the threshing-floor or the other products which grew in the soil. Later, as a matter of convenience, in the seventeenth century it was estimated and paid in money and collected from each village by the ruler's official.

The easiest way of paying the collector of taxes in the place of cash by the ruler who cannot persuade his people to provide him with sufficient funds is to give him a grant of land. So the collectors soon become grantees of land; what is at first a personal office becomes hereditary, making the way open for sale of the office for cash, or for leases and sub-leases of the land or various rights over the land. Long before the East India Company took over the collection of revenue in Bengal there were collectors for the Great Mogul, who were endowed with many of the attributes of the landlord.

Section IV. The Permanent Settlement of Bengal

The State nowhere collects its revenues from the poorer individuals where it can make use of substantial persons or corporate bodies. It is the lord of the manor, and not

the individual freeman, who pays the dues to the Crown; it is the employer, and not the servant or labourer, who fills up the insurance form and puts on the stamps. Sometimes the people themselves select the agent through whom they pay their dues. In the hill district of Chittagong, for instance, there are a number of properties widely separated in the hands of one man. The explanation is that when the Mohammedans invaded the district, then most of it in dense forest, the little cultivators on their separate forest clearances, to save themselves from the Mohammedan tax collector, attached themselves to some man who had influence at the nawab's court, through whom they paid their dues. He became their lord of the manor, with a tendency of encroachment to absolute ownership.[7]

When in 1765 the British East India Company, in consideration of an annual payment of 26 lakhs of rupees to the emperor and of payment of the expenses incident to the powers granted to them, received the right of collection of revenue and civil authority over Bengal, Behar, and Orissa (the Diwani, *douane*), they had to consider the means of collection of taxes. For this purpose it was impossible to use the small staff of merchants and their clerks, who barely sufficed to carry on the business of the Company. They had tried in the time of Clive to administer the revenue through native officials. But they had every reason to be dissatisfied with the collection of the revenue in native hands, whether as regarded their own interests or those of the cultivators (raiyats or ryots), for whom they were then beginning to feel a sentimental responsibility.

As our Indian Empire grew, especially towards the north-west, the Company began by collecting revenue through the local chiefs. This gave place to the collection by the administrators of the district, as the power of the Europeans became stronger and their official and clerical forces greater and more efficient.

Actuated then by this desire to protect the cultivator from the extortion of the tax collector, Lord Cornwallis' government made a scheme for Bengal called the Permanent

Settlement, fixing the amount of revenue payable by the cultivator to the government. Its main fault was that it was permanent. This was not done in a hurry. It was only after many experiments in a field of which they knew little that the Europeans carried out the permanent settlement. Some scheme of the kind was clearly a necessity.

The zemindar, the agent for collection of taxes, was turned into a landlord, giving him a fixed position. He had already many of the attributes of a landlord. The change in his case was very much as if a man who had been employed as a mediaeval king to collect his taxes became by virtue of his office lord of the manor.

He contracted to pay in one lump sum the amount of tax for the district. The extra taxes or cesses called siwai or abwab which had been extorted by him from the raiyat were abolished, and the zemindar forbidden to collect them; a number of other payments for various purposes called sayer were put outside his collection; he was not to hold his own lands tax free. In theory he was supposed to turn into the Treasury nine-tenths of what he received of the customary rents from the cultivator, keeping the remaining tenth for his trouble of collection.

The scheme was no doubt well designed, but the result of the good intentions differed from the expectation.

The authors of the plan left out the human nature of the zemindar, and expected him to work for the prosperity of himself and herein for the community. And he did not do it. One very evil consequence is thus described: "The law would have acted with much diminished harshness if it had not been for the characteristics of the landlords. They were indolent and extravagant; they did nothing for the land; and even when there was no glaring personal defect, the climate and the habits of the country unfortunately suggested that the proprietor should save himself trouble by farming out his estate to anyone who would give him the largest profit over and above his revenue payment. And as the proprietor's farmer in this grew rich, he too farmed his interest to others, till farm within farm

became the order of the day, each resembling a screw upon a screw, the last coming down upon the tenant with the pressure of them all. But who could have foretold this in 1790?"

Of course he continued to levy the extra cesses, and increased their scope and their amount; and the cultivators paid them, knowing that if they complained the landlord could extort twice the amount from them in some other fashion. For the same reason they avoided any land measurement. If it were measured it might be found that they had more land on which to pay tax, or if not so the measurer by manipulation of the staff would make it so. The encroachment of the great man on the small in the matter of extra and occasional payments is the same in all times and places. It is shown by the difficulty found in confining the badly paid king to the three feudal aids. I have given examples in my "Foundations of Society and the Land" of the restriction of the Irish chief in early times, and the enlargement until it embraced anything the lord wished, in the case of the O'Sullivans of Beare. In the same way the Indian landlord invented new occasions for "benevolences" from the poor cultivator. Aids to pay writers of legal papers; to make a present to the governor or emperor; to maintain police; to assist him when he is in debt; to celebrate festivals; to make up for tenants dying or absconding; for travelling expenses; for stationery or printing; for legal expenses; for the purchase of an elephant; for fees on changes of holdings. The Administration Report of 1872–3, giving a long account of such matters, says: "The modern Zemindar taxes his raiyats for every extravagance or necessity that circumstances may suggest, as his predecessors taxed them in the past."

Then there were other taxes on the land, such as dues on pilgrims, excise, transit and customs duties, taxes on shopkeepers in bazaars and markets, charges on the use of jungle products, on fishing, on orchards and fruit trees. The British Raj might forbid them, but they would continue to be levied. (Appendix W.)

To turn again to the Permanent Settlement itself. The following account was written to the author by a friend who had long held high judicial office in the Province.

"As to the land settlement of Bengal, I have always thought it the most evil thing we ever did. At that time as now the State was the sole owner of the land, and its income was, and still is to a great extent, the land revenue or the rent then paid by the cultivators. These rents were collected by officers, who were paid by a commission on their collections. The office of course, like every office in India, tended to become hereditary, but it was always terminable. Cornwallis decided to make the rent collectors the owners of the soil, paying as revenue for ever the sum that then was annually due from them. All future increase in the value of the land was to be theirs, and the result is that now their descendants realise rents from the cultivators that must be a hundred times what their ancestors levied, but they still pay the old land revenue, which in many cases is now insignificant. Cornwallis at the time uttered a lot of imposing sentiments upon the duties of the landlords to their tenants, but these were not acted on until more than a century had elapsed. And meanwhile the Bengali landlord, who has no feudal tradition and to whom it has probably never occurred that he can have any duty to the tenants, has piled on rent after rent, impost after impost, limited only by the fear that the tenants may bolt if they are bled too white, though, of course, they have nowhere else to go, and they will stand almost anything. English landlords do fulfil some function in rural economics. The Bengali landlord neither fulfils any nor would he understand what you meant if you told him that he had any concern with his village beyond expecting the maximum of rent from it. Certainly my chief objection to the reforms" (*i.e.* the Montagu scheme) "is the belief that the landlord and the lawyer will ultimately control the legislature in Bengal, and will nibble at and ultimately destroy the Tenancy Act of 1885 which gives the tenant fixity of tenure, fair rent, and strict limitation of enhancements. Lawyers with an

experience almost exclusively English were always opposed to this Act. They could not realise that to the Bengal cultivator 'freedom of contract' was inevitably tantamount to oppression and practical slavery.[8] For instance, agreements to pay extra charges known as abwabs have been illegal ever since 1793, if not before, but the lawyers have got round this enactment by saying that these odd fees are the actual rent and not extra charges at all, and thus the whole object of the legislation to redress a crying evil has been defeated. As a result, when a certain district in Behar was last surveyed, it was found that these illegal extra charges exceeded the actual rents of the district by some millions."

My friend, it will be noticed, does not touch on the poverty occasioned to the Crown by this fixture of revenue, but only its effect on the wretched tenants. We are not told by the constitutional historian what profits were made out of the villeins by the English patriotic landlords who forced Magna Charta on King John.

The difficulties of Cornwallis and his advisers in 1793 were vastly increased by their ignorance of the meaning of the relations of the people to the land with which they had to deal. "The whole theory of Indian land revenue," says Mr. Baden-Powell, "was absolutely strange to the English authorities. They could not tell who owned the land and who did not; nor in what category to place the different native officials they found in the districts. Everything had to be learnt by slow experience. There was no guide to the system, and no principle of law" (*i.e.* English law) "to which it could be referred; nor were the Company's servants fitted by their training and antecedents to prescribe systems or devise administrative reforms." As Mr. Kaye says, "The Company's servants were dead hands at investments but they knew nothing of land tenures." They had to see that the interests of the Company did not suffer, that the cultivator was protected from the revenue farmer, and that lands which had improperly escaped taxation should be made to pay.

It is hardly surprising that their experiments with

leases, with the appointment of collectors, with the fairness of the payments to be made by them to the Company, and with the prevention of extortion from the cultivator should have been unsuccessful. They had perforce to deal with the local rajahs and big men who were willing and able to undertake the payment to the Company as collectors, men who had generally inherited the office. Everything pointed to this class as the person responsible for dealing with the land. Many of them were closely connected with the land and with the cultivators. "There was no handbook of ancient law," says Mr. Baden-Powell, "to guide the collectors in understanding the history of landholding, to direct their attention to the origin of *villages*, the units composing the great estates, or to explain what those aggregates of cultivators meant, in the light of a comparative study of early customs and institutions. Their only conception of landholding was embodied in the English landlord with his tenants."[9] They did not even understand the English manor. (Appendix X.)

Section V. The Darbhanga Raj

Let us admit that the Permanent Settlement had great defects and permanently robbed the cultivators of the soil they tilled. But as a set-off I would quote from the Report on Land Tenures in 1883 the great work done by the British Raj through the Court of Wards during the minority of the ruler of a very large estate from 1860 to 1879.[10]

The Darbhanga Raj was taken over in 1860 after it had been in the hands of the maharajah's servants. They had leased their farms to their friends and kinsmen at easy rents or to men of no substance from whom no rent had been received. The rental value was nominally R. 16,39,357; and the government dues only R. 4,07,484. The arrears of rent and other debts were R. 56,44,972 and R. 3,37,775. The debts due by the maharajah amounted to R. 71,88,427. "The estates were destitute of roads and bridges; the palace was in ruins; the courtyards quagmires; its environs a hopeless waste of jungle pools and filth."

There were no refuges for the sick; no resting-places for travellers; no schools in the whole estate. When it was handed over in 1879 the nominal rents had been reduced by R. 5,92,323, but the rent roll was R. 21,61,885. There were good arrears outstanding of R. 14,51,664, cash in hand of R. 2,75,733, and government securities valued at R. 38,54,500. All debts had been paid.

A large bazaar and serai had been built at Darbhanga. The palace had been improved and stood in a garden of fifty acres. The home farms had been settled with indigo planters, over 150 miles of roads had been constructed and bridged, and 20,000 trees had been planted along them. Extensive irrigation works had been undertaken, and hundreds of embankments, water-channels, tanks and wells made on moneys advanced to the tenants. Vernacular schools for a thousand children had been established. Three hospitals and six dispensaries had been set up.

All this had been done in face of unusual drought and scarcity, calling for heavy remissions of rent, and the cost of management was six per cent. of the receipts.

It is by such acts as these and not by the crawling order or massacre at Amritsar or floggings at Lahore that India has been saved for the British Raj.

Section VI. The Waste as a Source of Revenue

There is one more use of the land in relation to imperial finance which is in all ages the most valuable and the most liable to misuse. The actual amount which can be wrung out of the cultivated land by increased rents to the agent or landlord and increased taxes to the rulers, whether local or imperial, must always be limited by the powers of endurance of the cultivator. But the profits to be gained from the waste, the forest, the unoccupied untilled land, are subject only to the quantity of such land available for sale, lease, or profit. The value of the wild animals or birds which inhabit it is matter of little moment either now or in the Middle Ages, except in the pages of the monastic chronicler or Whig historian of the nineteenth

century. But the value of the timber, of the minerals, of the various products of the forest, in these days also of the water power, and finally the value of virgin land for cultivation renders this source of revenue in all times in the hands of economical managers the most productive, and in the hands of bad rulers a means of avoiding responsibility for extravagance and waste, whether the ruler professes to act as the representative of the society or in his own person as the federal government. When the government is solvent it is very careful about the grant of lands or the revenue to be derived from lands, or releasing lands from taxation. But when from any cause the ruler is confronted with an empty treasury it is an easy way of making payment for services in the place of money grants to grant lands or the revenue of lands to the pensionary or payee.

In the Indian village the villagers had an hereditary right to cultivate so long as they paid the customary dues. But it was only the right to cultivate, not ownership, and it was a right not transferable without the consent of the community. The uncultivated waste land vested in the community in the same way, belonging to no person, so long as it was waste. "Waste land," says the archaic lawyer,[11] "is nobody's property until it is brought into cultivation." But if the community through its ruler authorised anyone to cultivate the waste, he acquired the right of cultivation in it.

Apart from conquest I think that separate ownership must first have come with the person who cleared the land. Yet, in the first instance it would be family ownership, the ownership of the greater family, for one man by himself could clear but little land, especially in a tropical district. All early villages, whether in England or in India or in Africa, have their beginning in the clearance and fencing of a space in the dense forest, where men and crops are subject to the dangers of wild men and wild beasts. The nearest village is a settlement of enemies.

The ruler at all times, and the community so long as the land is vested in the community, have encouraged the

clearance and cultivation of waste land, taking rent or revenue for the cultivation and giving a user's title to the man who did the first clearing. The original settler may either do the work of clearing himself and occupy the settlement with his family, or he may find implements and means for clearing and cultivation and seed for other men, if he has more land than he can manage by himself. As a result a series of titles to the land arises over every clearance, the title given to the original settler covering the claim for permanency of those who hold under him. Then will arise in the future the question whether the revenue to be paid for the cleared land is a sum permanently fixed, or whether the government can claim an increase from time to time.

A most important duty of an imperial power, especially of the British Government, which is responsible for such enormous tracts of forest in Asia, Africa, and America, is the management of uncultivated and forest land. Knowledge of the varieties of timber and of crops, of the balance between the values of timber and cultivation, when to cut or clear the forest or jungle for valuable crops and when to forbid the destruction of valuable timber, should be one of the chief qualifications of a government official. There is always a class of men exemplified by our legend of Robin Hood who live in the forest. They may take the deer and furnish a picturesque chapter for the chronicle or newspaper. But the death of the animal is really a little matter. What is important is the reckless destruction of timber, either by the burning of the forest as an aid to the young grass or as an easy method of making a clearing for a comparatively valueless crop, and the negligence of protecting any crop from the depredations of wild beasts.

So long as the dealings with the forests are those of the people who live about them and have a vested interest in them, the mischief is not likely to be irreparable, though the mismanagement may be great. It is when the railway brings the manufacturers to the required timber tract, when the user is open to traders, to contractors, to foreign officials, that the injury without any corresponding advantage to the community becomes fatal to the forest.

In some parts, especially in warm climates, the value of the timber as a product is secondary to its value for the conservation of moisture and effect on climate, or to its value on steep hill-sides to prevent the destructive washing away of the soil.

As the wandering tribe settles for a time on one spot it begins cultivation by setting fire to the more open areas of the forest and raising a few crops on the wood ashes.[12] The tribe selects a spot on the slope of a hill, cuts the timber, burns it when it is dry, and sows the seed upon the ashes, from which they raise a crop of double value. In the second year a small crop is taken and then the clearing goes back to jungle. In the Madras and Bombay Presidencies this method of cultivation called "Kumari" has been forbidden; even if it had not altogether ceased, the local authority had checked the "destruction by vagabond tribes in burning wood with a view to raising on the ashes a crop of inferior grain."

So long as the system of living is tribal, whether in Asia or Africa, the chief will settle his dependents on the waste, and make his profit from them. In an immense country such as India the result of this tribal settlement on the waste continues to show itself in many ways. In the neighbourhood of Chingleput, for instance, in the Madras Presidency, there are many villages with a landlord class over the ryots due to the fact that "there had been a great colonising party sent out by one of the Dravidian kingdoms of Southern India; they had advanced into what was then an unpeopled forest country, and having cleared the land and established villages the different leaders of the Colonist groups," and afterwards their families, "became landlords."

An Indian writer on the subject, speaking of the landlord village and the waste attached to it, says: "It is most unfortunate that in these days when such an area has been given over absolutely to the village, they have been tempted to break it up for cultivation and are now hard pressed for fuel and grazing unless there are government forests or fuel reserves and grazing grounds in which they can find

a supply." Where the villagers had the user of the waste it was difficult, says the same authority, to restrain hill chiefs from selling great blocks of land to contractors who cleared off all the timber when the railways came.

Under our rule all waste lands are at the disposal of the State, *i.e.* the British Raj, so that it can give or sell them, grant leases for cultivation or for working minerals or for grazing. For instance, the tea plantations of Darjeeling arose out of waste land. But here we conflict with the forest.

Here come in the benefits conferred and the dangers to be avoided by the imperial government. Speaking of contractors, the first report of Forest Operations in the Madras Presidency, 1861, says: "Instead of finding a class of persons possessing knowledge of the timber trade, there is only a multitude of rogues ever ready to tender for contracts, to receive advances and to appropriate them." The report of a collector from Mangalore in 1859 says: "I strongly object to the system of allowing the agents of public officers to fell in our jungles. The people so employed are generally the very men whom we have had so much trouble in getting rid of and who are systematic plunderers"; which brings one back to the English foresters of the thirteenth century.

At the time of the Permanent Settlement a great part of Bengal was uncultivated jungle and forest. So far as such jungle was within the limits of the tract dealt with by the zemindar it became his property; he could clear it and obtain rent for the cleared portions. The waste which had not been cleared and was not thus held by the zemindar belonged to the government. As it was cleared up the holders became tenants of the government and not of any intermediate landlord, and afterwards the government resumed the land of the zemindar which was not cleared and collected revenue from the cultivated land.

Although the waste land vests in the State, its powers of sale and lease are subject to the customary rights of user by the village for wood cutting and grazing. It would be a question always how much was included in the village

customary rights and how much went to the British Raj. A number of questions would from time to time arise upon this subject requiring very careful examination. Could leases be granted by the government in the waste attached to a village? If so, have the people of a village a refusal in the first instance? How near to the village may the stranger be allowed to clear and to what extent? Who is to take the dues for cattle grazing from outside?

I have chosen this subject as an illustration of revenue, since in the largest part of the Empire the land is the chief prescriptive source of revenue, and its products, whether of crops, mineral or timber, are of daily increasing importance in the approaching deadly struggle for existence.

CHAPTER XXX

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The remarks which follow are for the most part my own personal opinions on the probabilities of permanence for our Empire. They are the views of an extreme stickler for trial by definite technical legal procedure in preference to enforcing "law and order" by violence. Such opinions may be of value to a reader as indicating the inevitable bias of the writer; but they are outside the structure of the work, and I ask that they should not be allowed to prejudice previous fair presentation of facts, historic or economic, in the book itself. There are many avenues to empire; but hitherto the little systems which led to it "have had their day and cease to be." It remains to be seen whether the modern empire will or will not follow to the grave those that have gone before, or whether it has elements which will save it from the fate of the empires of the past. When these from various causes have fallen, their fate would affect few if it were not that each in turn has pulled down with it the temple of human progress and civility, after destroying the independent societies of politically weaker peoples which might well have reached, if their indigenous growth had not been checked, a very much higher plane. Have we in these later days any better prospect of permanence[1] in that unity of peoples which we call Empire? If so, what are the forces which will tell for it?

1. First there must be a spirit of unity throughout the Empire, which will place at its disposal at any moment of gravity all the physical force of the confederated nations for action of offence or defence. No empire is at any moment safe if it has to provide for the repression of dis-

satisfaction within when preparing to meet rivals or foes. Of this the British Empire received a startling illustration during the late great war. All those varied colonies, dependencies, and possessions which enjoyed full or partial self-government under their many parliaments and councils, and countries without representation but honestly governed, such as India, rallied to her support, while the enemy had counted on their apathy; only those, such as Ireland, which were held down by brute force in the interests of an alien minority, stood aloof.

Such unity can come only as the result of justice and generosity in the dealings by the central government with the various peoples, a careful consideration of their tendencies, development, social and political aspirations.

It may be laid down as an axiom that any refusal to co-operate has its roots, in the first instance, in misgovernment by the federal power of the disaffected country, either from want of honesty, or more likely from ignorance, of the politicians in charge, as, for instance, where a people or nation or race who are expected to co-operate in imperial defence are forbidden to make their own laws, or to practise their own religion, or are held down by force in the interests of a minority as if incapable of managing their own internal affairs. For any British student of history who wishes the permanence of his own Empire, the motto cannot be too frequently borne in mind, "the more liberty, the more loyalty." Otherwise the subordinate part may be willing, as was the case with the American colonies before their revolution, to fight in the interests of the Empire when those interests coincided with their own, but, the danger removed, not willing to assist imperial interests either by fighting or by submitting to taxation where no benefit would result to themselves.

Once more; only two ways of ruling people exist—force and consent. Any men or any people who have sufficient force and the will to use it without fear of consequences, can obtain a superiority over other peoples which amounts to empire as long as the force lasts, but no longer. Now and again the world, tired of order, indulges in an age of

violence—we are passing through such a phase now—when, in place of the victorious reliance on fair and open trial of supposed offences, the militarist extremists use violent means which disregard legal procedure for the suppression of political opinion over the whole Empire. By such actions, resulting from fear, they degrade the British name and endanger the safety of our rule. But this, I believe, is only a passing phase which is not confined to the British Empire, the expression of terror of a world frightened by war, a phase to disappear, one hopes, with the recovered sanity of a new generation. We may leave it to one side. Permanent rule of any kind cannot rest on force, but only on the consent of the governed. As Lord Salisbury said in 1875, speaking about India to the students of Coopers Hill, "No system of government can be permanently safe where there is a feeling of inferiority or mortification affecting the relations between the governing and the governed." "The security of our Raj in India," wrote in 1892 an old Indian Civil Servant, "depends more on the existence of sympathy and good will than on British bayonets."

2. This unity presupposes for permanence a single head of a family representing kingship by inheritance. No rule, whether based on physical force, as in all Eastern empires, or on moral force, and the justice and freedom enjoyed under it, as we believe and hope in our own, can be permanent over other peoples which does not rest upon inheritance of rule by a family of the ruling people. The alternative to this, putting force aside, is rule by a man elected by the majority of the ruling people. No associated or subject people will without perpetual rebellion submit to the rule of a man who can only represent the opinions for the moment of a majority of another nation, a man who at any time may by a fresh decision of electors on a local issue be replaced by the representative of another section, advocating different principles and different policies. Such rule has no imperial permanence. So long as empire exists, it must rest either on force or on the foundation of the *family*, the only unit which has any

permanence in social life, the imperial head, the bond which unites the various peoples and races, representing inheritance. For this reason, however popular or influential for a moment the temporary ruler may be, whether he represents a political party or an army, his rule is the negation of empire. A republic, or other form of government which denies inheritance to the ruler, is impossible as a condition of *permanent* empire. It rests on force alone.

It is in accordance with this fact that the aspirant to empire, if not of a royal family, seeks to found a new dynasty through the alliances of his kinsmen and descendants with kingly houses. History is full of examples of this instinctive groping towards permanence.

3. But as federal government by one man over many peoples must inevitably lead to bureaucratic rule at the fountain head in the interests of the ruling race, it follows as a corollary that there should be the widest scope of self-government for the different parts of the empire so far as may be consistent with the unity essential for offence and defence. The giving or denial of freedom may be in respect of the making and administration of laws, of the preaching and practice of religious beliefs, in respect of finance or of trade.

There is considerable truth in the axiom which Dr. Johnson ridiculed: "Who rules o'er freemen must himself be free." Only a free people can give freedom to subject or associated peoples. The Eastern empires have in turn decayed because, although they have been very loose forms of political society, giving very wide powers of local government to the dependent States, the source of power itself, the federal rule, was a tyranny and a bureaucracy, resting on force or on the will of the corrupt and irresponsible advisers of the absolute ruler. It cannot be expected that the local governments will be less corrupt or more free than their creator. They do not take their institutions from their own people. As the root decays, the tree falls. We can only confer freedom on others if we remain free ourselves.

Our own fortuitous balance of powers of government

and law-making, shared between the king as administrator and the council of Parliament as law-maker and financial source, promise far more permanence than the political conditions of any former empire. The great councils must do their duty by efficient control of those responsible for the spending of public money and for the action of the different working parts, and the king prevent interference, either from cowardice or in the interest of political parties at home, with the political, social, or financial affairs of the poorer or weaker peoples, of whom the politician in the islands may be ignorant.

But the peculiar balance of hereditary rule and popular control must be most carefully preserved. If either of the three parts, the hereditary kingship, the hereditary council, or the popular council, assumes more or less than its due of authority, the effect on empire is disastrous, leading either to tyranny or anarchy or both. For these checks and counter-checks to be effective, there must be reality on both sides. Empire does not admit of a figurehead. Within these bounds the growth of freedom in the society is the test and evidence of progress in civility and strength.

4. One of the strongest ties for unity is freedom of trade between the different parts of the Empire, creating a spirit of common interest in time of danger. Wars and rumours of wars would be lessened if trade were unhampered among the peoples. But to obtain the removal of tariff restrictions by the peoples outside the Empire, we must first make trade completely free within its entire borders, as in the United States. By free trade I mean, of course, reciprocal freedom, not the allowance of our markets as an open dumping ground to those who refuse a free entrance to their own markets. Free trade within the Empire would get rid of one of the most dangerous causes of friction and decay, the jealousy felt lest the products of the less wealthy countries should interfere with the prosperity of the richer parts. India supplies us with an example in the interference with the cotton fabrics of India, first in the supposed interest of the English woollen trade, and later of Manchester cotton, and Ireland in the ruin in succession of her cattle,

woollen, shipping, and other industries in the supposed interests of the Anglo-Scot.

Consider this matter of imperial trade by the light of the conditions of our Empire at the present time and at the date at which it may be said to have been firmly founded, in 1760, when we had finally defeated the French in Canada and in India. At that time our outer territorial possessions consisted of little more than a few very small coast settlements in India, the island of Bombay and Bankot on the west coast, Madras and the Northern Circars on the south-east, and the control, as agents for the Mogul, of large tracts of land in Bengal from which the governors of the East India Company at Calcutta collected the revenue. We had acquired Gibraltar in 1704, but it is 1800 before we gain Malta, 1806 Capetown, 1838 Aden, 1842 Hongkong. Our imperial strength lay then in the virility of our commerce, in our supreme command of the sea, in our great naval and military strength *in proportion to our slender liabilities and to our good credit.* Since 1880 up to 1914, 3¾ millions of square miles, with a native population of nearly 58 millions, have been added to British territory; and 4 millions of square miles to France, with a population of 50 millions, and a million to Germany, with a population of 15 millions. All this territory is under Crown Colony government and is tropical or semi-tropical. The one thing which the European peoples cannot do with this acquired territory is to live in it. It is for the Western peoples a perpetual hostage. It is described by Lord Rosebery as pegging out claims for posterity. Even the sub-tropical climates are unfit for settlement by Europeans. M. Ives Guyot (quoted in "Empire and Commerce in Africa," p. 29) expresses in 1885 the French conquest of Algeria allegorically as each of the few European colonists sitting on four corpses and guarded by two soldiers. The British territories are certainly no better suited for our settlement. We hold them as hostages to fortune, as the Portuguese and the Dutch did before us, in return for any advantage which we may gain in the possession of raw material and scanty markets.

The British Empire, like that of other nations whose existence is dependent on command of the sea, divides itself into two divisions wholly apart from one another.

The one part consists of the overflow of population from the islands, colonial dependencies, the natural branches of the parent tree. They follow the course and share the destiny of the country from which they have sprung. They may be said to form with the mother-country a confederation of nations. With them I do not deal.

The other part consists of the variety of territories above mentioned, inhabited by peoples of other races, holding religious and political beliefs varying from the elaborated systems of the ancient East to the fetish worship and witch doctor of the African savage. The territories in the East have come to us as the result of conquest or exchange; in Africa by mere seizure from the savages or as the subject of fraudulent conveyance by their chiefs.

It is with these that the Empire in the future is concerned. The occupation of Africa, and in the first instance the invasion of China, was the result of a competition for markets for the manufactured goods of the Europeans, cotton goods, ironmongery, and machinery, in exchange for raw materials such as rubber and oil. The occupation of Asia has forced a competition for goods manufactured in Asia.

However many meetings and conferences and processions and demonstrations may take place over the advocacy of an eternal peace, there will always be the domination of the weaker by the stronger, accompanied by the wars between the strong for the privilege of exploiting the weaker, and the revolt of the weaker against the crimes or the mistakes of the rulers who hold them down by force. War will always occur, wrecking from time to time the structure of the world. It is a relief after the moral demonstrations over "no more war" to stand at the corner of the street and see the age-long presentation of Punch hitting the policeman. But I believe that a conflict of armed Europeans over the seizure of territory will in the future be the exception as a form of war.

There is a better and an easier way. I read and I am told (let us be patriotic and take example from a rival country) that the Americans are dominating by peaceful penetration the republics of Central America, after the manner of the British in India in the eighteenth century. The American lends money to the temporary governors of the republic and takes in return a security which is not temporary, a lien not for the duration of the ministry, but for so long as superior force lasts, a power to collect the customs and the profits of the railways and any other old thing through which the stranglehold of the alien money-lender can exhaust the makings of the native producer. It is, if true, a modern adaptation of the Dewani of Bengal.

If there are wars it will very likely be because the international money-lenders of the countries of Europe and America are jealous of the Dewanis gained by rivals over the highly civilised people who for a century past, whether in Peru or China or Russia or elsewhere, have devoted themselves to work of production while the Western Europeans have been manufacturing implements of destruction, or lending money on the security of the productive work, or employing slave labour to make cocoa. If it is required, and it often is, to drag the State as a backer into these imperial adventures when a company has attempted more than it can manage and is in financial difficulties, it persuades the home government to take over its responsibilities in some huge undertaking by the threat of selling its interests to some foreign Power. Examples are Godeffroy of Hamburg and the German government over Samoa in 1878 *et seq.*; La Compagnie Impériale des Chemins de Fer Ethiopiens and the French government over Somaliland and Abyssinia in 1901, and the British government and the East African Company over East Africa and Zanzibar. Now, just as in the first days of European expansion, each State confines the trade of whatever territory it can control to its own subjects, and within its limits places commerce in the hands of a privileged body. All these modern seizures of African and Asiatic territory, whether by a Free Trade or Protectionist

Power, have for their object but one end, commercial monopoly, which is at the bottom of all wars now as it was then.

The great success of our East India Company is accounted for by the fact that, instead of striving after political power, it recognised that success in trade was the only sure foundation of its existence, ignoring the fallacy that trade follows the flag. But its success was also due to the geographical position of the British Islands. That position has now completely altered. What the eventual result may be can yet be hardly known. Until the Portuguese seamen had taught Europe the way to the East round the Cape, the people of the islands only had connection with any Eastern countries either by Archangel and Astrachan, or by some isolated adventurer who dared across Asia Minor. When by the magnificent discoveries of Prince Henry's captains the way to the south was opened the men of London and Bristol were in the front to take advantage of it. Magnificently did the East India Company and the merchant service for more than two centuries and a half take advantage. Then in 1869 the Suez Canal was opened and on August 15, 1914, the Panama Canal. Now, instead of being on the nearest point of the road to the East, Marseilles and Barcelona and Trieste on the one side, and New Orleans and Charleston on the other, outsail the British ships. Nearness, the short pull, counts for everything in trade. Can we hold our own with the Mediterranean people? Or will the Turks, with their French allies, again close the trade routes across Asia and force us to go round by the Cape? They will undoubtedly insist upon the "freedom" of the Suez Canal, handing over Egypt to the care of the Franco-Turk, and seizing for the same combination the oil of Mesopotamia.

5. A common law to which all are subject, impartially administered between different peoples, is the first foundation of social life and the most enduring element. Such law derives its power from the voluntary consent and submission of the majority to its sanctions.[2]

The matter is fully summed up for all empire in a

passage from Milton's "Areopagitica," quoted in a former work: "For this is not the liberty which we can hope that no grievances should ever arise in the commonwealth—that let no man in this world expect: but when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed—then is the utmost bound of liberty obtained that wise men hope for." Acts of official violence, the use of the machine-gun, the aeroplane, the bomb, and the whip, deportations and imprisonment for political speeches, whether in Asia or in Africa, are but evidences of the fear felt by those who order or commit them. Such acts tell with deadly effect against any influence for permanency of our rule.

Then comes the supreme difficulty of providing at some one's expense the money necessary to ensure impartial justice.

6. The expenses of the different parts have to be adapted to their capacity and requirements. The very elaborate and onerous burden, for instance, of legal administration, which can hardly be borne by wealthy England, is a cruel injustice and drawback to progress to the poorer parts of the Empire.[3] The subject peoples must not be taxed for the benefit of the federal nation; the incidence of taxation must be adjusted to their capacities and needs.

There is no one of the essentials for permanence which is so necessary to be observed as this, or one so difficult of adjustment. There will be a constant tendency on the part of the ruling authority to relieve itself from complaints of over-taxation by passing on part of the cost to the dependencies, while the peoples benefited by their association with empire will always be unwilling to pay for it if it can be avoided.

7. One tragic aspect of empire occasionally is that when the strong ruling power has in its past history obtained free institutions, the will towards honest and just government which had brought about the freedom is sometimes obscured to it by ignorance of its causes, by the fictions which grow up around historical fact. Only too often in the world's history the ruling community or ruler has been led to treat the weaker part of the empire with

disastrous condescension, giving to it, as from itself, some institution wholly unsuited to its needs, breaking up and destroying the fabric of life on which the weaker unit rests, running counter to everything of nature in its historic growth.

In many respects our difficulties with India arise from want of appreciation of its unchanging institutions, from the inability of the man at home to understand that society in the East is not framed on the individual as a unit as in Europe, but on the larger family, so that political systems giving votes and powers to individuals which we consider beneficial and conducive to freedom are to Eastern peoples a nuisance and a danger.

I have quoted in Appendix Y various opinions of Anglo-Indians about the peoples of India, because if our imperial success may be tested anywhere, it will be surely in the East.[4] Here if we meet with a war with the Moslem, the one religion which propagates its faith by the sword and massacre, our past treatment not only of the Greek and Armenian, but of the Oriental peoples of India, Egypt, Persia, Arabia, and Mesopotamia, will decide how far they will be our enemies or our allies.

All empires have hitherto gone through the same stages. Beginning with a small homogeneous people, some hardy warlike race, a society which has realised the necessity for discipline, which has developed some form of government, no matter what, guaranteeing moderate liberty to the peoples governed, and capable of expansion, it proceeds to military decadence in one of two ways: either by the direct result of military force (the most usual course in Eastern empires) or by the slower but not less certain method of undue dilution of power leading directly to military despotism, which is the certain end, and inseparable from government on account of an irresponsible mass of men moved wholly by selfishness. Hitherto from this internal decadence our Empire has been saved, in part by the peculiar character of our government, a system of checks and counter-checks forming an efficient executive responsible to two representative assemblies, granting the

large amount of freedom necessary for stable government, and in part by our profession and practice of the Christian religion inculcating self-sacrifice and the social virtues.

8. Without this religion for us no empire can be permanent. I do not mean by Christianity the anthropomorphic politics of the Athanasian creed or the violence of repression advocated by some high ecclesiastics, but the spiritual life as exampled by Francis Xavier, Las Casas, Patteson, Livingstone, and a host of other saints who gave up their lives for those less fortunate in opportunity. If we hold on to this faith and practise it, the peoples of the East, when the time comes for the testing of the stability of our Empire by attack from without, will stand by the race who gave them of their best in help and sympathy. If we rely on the prison, the machine-gun, and the whip, we shall go down as all other empires have gone down before us.

There is a sufficient similarity in all forms of belief to create a bond of unity, provided that there is toleration in the exercise of all. But as soon as the ruling race cease to believe in and act up to the superiority of their creed, so surely the empire which rests upon their belief will fade away. All empires which do not absolutely and wholly rely on physical force rest on the impressions created on mankind by ethical leaders. Except for such impression there is no reason for the voluntary acknowledgment by any people of the superiority of strangers, or for submission to strangers' rule. For permanent empire the welfare and peace of all must rest on moral force, on the knowledge or belief that the ruling race will act up to the ethical standard which they profess, and not on the bayonets of the stronger nation.

"'If thou art a god,' said the dervish, 'act as a god; if thou art a prophet, conduct us in the way of salvation; if thou art a king, render the people happy, and do not destroy them.' The barbarian replied, 'I am no god to act as a god; nor a prophet to show the way of salvation; nor a king to render the people happy; but I am he whom God sends to the nations which He has determined to visit with His wrath.'"

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The Church and the Control of Social Affairs.—The contrast between the past and the present in respect of the outlook of the Churches on political and social affairs is well expressed in two passages from the "Acquisitive Society," by R. H. Tawney, 1921, pp. 231, 237. "The mediaeval church, with all its extravagances and abuses, had asserted the whole compass of human interests to be the province of religion. The disposition to idealise it in the interests of some contemporary ecclesiastical or social propaganda is properly regarded with suspicion. But though the practice of its officers was often odious, it cannot be denied that the essence of its moral teaching had been the attempts to uphold a rule of right, by which all aspects of human conduct were to be judged, and which was not merely to be preached as an ideal, but to be enforced as a practical obligation upon members of the Christian community. . . . It had even sought, with a self-confidence which was noble, if perhaps over sanguine, to bring the contracts of business, and the transactions of economic life within the scope of a body of Christian casuistry." So far as to the mediaeval church. But how grave is the danger at present of complete obsolescence of this enforcement of Christian duty in the modern state. "During the last two centuries Europe has seen the development of a society in which what is called personal religion continues to be taught as the rule of individual conduct, but in which the very conception of religion as the inspiration and standard of social life and corporate effort has been forgotten. To suggest that an individual is not a Christian may be libellous. To preach in public that Christianity is absurd is legally blasphemy. To state that the social ethics of the New Testament are obligatory upon men in the business affairs which occupy nine-tenths of their thought, or on the industrial organization which gives our society its character is to preach revolution. To suggest that they apply to the relations of states may be held to be sedition. Such a creed does not find it difficult to obey the injunction: 'Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.' To their first hearers these words must have come with a note of gentle irony, for to the reader of the New Testament the things which are Caesar's appear to be singularly few. The modern world is not seriously inconvenienced by rendering to God the things which are God's. They are not numerous, nor are they of the kind which it misses." The immense danger to the existence and permanence of Empire from such decay of ethical control over society

is not appreciated. A "C3" religion is a far greater menace to our power than any lack of physical strength. "In our own day," says Mr. Tawney, "the horrors which sixty years ago were thought to be exorcised by the advance of civilization have one by one rolled back, the rule of the sword . . . as in Ireland, a hardly veiled slavery as in East Africa, a contempt for international law by the Great Powers which would have filled an earlier generation with amazement, and in England the prostitution of humanity and national honour and the decencies of life in pursuit of money," and "the assumption that the habitual conduct and organization of society is a matter to which religion is wholly irrelevant."

APPENDIX B

As an example of the dues and fees collected by the king from his towns, take the accounts to the Crown of the bailiffs of the City of London for one half year in 52 Hen. III. £97 13*s.* 11½*d.* for the issue of divers tronages, with several small strandages; £75 6*s.* 10*d.* the customs of all sorts of merchandises brought from beyond sea to the city, for which the custom called scavage was payable and likewise for the issue of divers pesages within the half year; £5 18*s.* 7½*d.* for the issues of the Cornmete at the Port of Billingsgate and the customs there; £7 0*s.* 2½*d.* the custom of fish brought to London Bridge Street and other customs there; £4 7*s.* 6*d.* the issue of the Bars and Fields of Smithfield; £8 13*s.* 2½*d.* toll received at the city gates, and by the customs of the river Thames westward; £43 0*s.* 5*d.* by stallages, customs of Butchers, and others exercising divers trades in the market of Westchepe by small tolls and issues of the same market with the profits of the market of Garschirche and Woolechirche and with a certain yearly socage of the Butchers of London; £17 11*s.* 2*d.* the issues of the Queen's Hithe, then being in the King's hand; £10 11*s.* the chattels of sundry foreigners who forfeited by buying and selling in the city against the Statutes and Customs thereof; £86 5*s.* 9½*d.* by pleas and perquisites within the same city; and £11 6*s.* 8*d.* arising by the Wardarii and Ambiani of Corbye and Neele: amounting altogether to £366 15*s.* 4½*d.*

The laws by which such boroughs were regulated have the impress of the King's peace. They deal with people closely connected in commerce and with matters more modern than the great systems which are the outcome of a farming community. They are nearer to us than the laws of the communal system.

APPENDIX C

THE DUTIES PAYABLE AND GOODS DEALT IN AT THE FONDE OF JERUSALEM

For instance, salt pays for every 100 bezants worth 8 bezants 10 caroubles, sesame in the berry by the horse load one rabouin, wheat

and eggs the tenth, orchanet or dyer's bugloss 18½ caroubles per camel load, billets of wood by the ass-load a quarter of the value, wine of Nazareth and Saphouri 12 drachms per camel load, and so on. The following are some of the goods mentioned in the Assizes as imported or exported, some sold to, and some bought from, the Europeans or the inhabitants of Asia and Africa. The long list shows the trade opened up by the success of the Crusader.

Agricultural Produce, Animals, etc.—Almonds, apples, butter, carob beans, cattle, cheeses, chickens, dates, eggs, eschallots, feathers, figs, dried and fresh, flax, fruit, garlic, goats, grapes, horses, nuts, oil, olives, rhubarb, salt, salt fish, sugar, wax, wheat, whortleberries, wine (of Nazareth, of Saphouri, of Safran, of Antioch, of Liche, of Cazal Ambert).

Drugs, Medicines, Spices, etc.—Alcana, aspic, borax, cabal, cardamon, camphor, cinnamon bark, cloves, dyer's bugloss or orchanet, emery, gallnuts, leaves of festus, galega, ginger, gumlacquer, incense, libanotis, liquorice, malabathrum, Malabar nuts, musk, myrobalan, nutmeg (nuts and leaves of), olibanum, yellow orpiment, oil of sesame, pepper, pounçe or sandarac, resin of camphor, rebeth (= ribes), sal ammoniac, senna, sesame berries, spikenard of lavender, theriac, terebenthine, sarcocolla, gariophylus.

Dress Stuffs and Materials.—Silk (Arab authors say that at Tripoli alone, when the Crusaders were driven from the town in 1293, there were counted 4000 silk looms), cotton, wool, muslin or veiling, Damascus thread, vestments made of silk or thread, buckram and cotton cloth, and shoes.

Miscellaneous Goods.—Aloes wood, ivory, pitch, saddles and girths, pottery, horse hides, straw for baskets and hampers, vases of marble, glass (? from Venice), wood billets and timber of various kinds. The Venetians brought great quantities of wood, such as ash and poplar, to the East, and teak, ebony, and sandalwood from India by Suez or from the Euphrates and Tigris.

APPENDIX D

Examples of Export of Wool.—Taking a few scattered examples of the treatment of this key industry, prohibitions against general export of wool were issued in 1273, 1336, 1362–65, 1375, 1381, 1630, 1632; against export, except from certain ports, 1341, 1344; against export to Berwick or Scotland, 1353.

Licences to export wool were granted for the Pope in 1338, for the cardinal of St. Praxelis in 1340, for the earl of Salisbury in 1340 and 1341, for the king of Portugal in 1398, for the earl of Kendal in 1460, for the duchess of Burgundy in 1471. As examples for its use as cash, for payment of debts and wages to the Company of Leopardi in 1340; as payment for the release of the earl of Derby; in 1342 for the redemption of the two crowns of Queen Philippa; in 1475 to the Medicis and others in payment of £5000 owing to them by the king; in 1341 and 1342 for the wages of Robert d'Artois, Ralph de Stafford, William of Kildesly, the earl of Suffolk, and others, and their companies of soldiers; in 1554 for redress of injuries to Genoese ships.

In 1213 the Knights Templar are permitted to export their own wool; in 1337 licences are granted to citizens of eighteen towns subject to John, duke of Brabant, to buy wool in England, and Sir Walter Manny and his ships are ordered to convoy them to Flanders; in 1348 the king requests the cities of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres to allow Lombards to buy the wool exported by the English. At the beginning of the fifteenth century Florence had an immense woollen manufacture and was exporting wool in great quantities from England. In 1319, says Lindsay ("Hist. of Merchant Shipping"), there is a record of Tomaso Loredano, a Venetian, who shipped 1100 tons of sugar to London, the proceeds to be invested in English wool. The wool was to be shipped in Venetian vessels; Venice, being a great naval Power, conserved her merchant shipping. Most of these instances are taken from Rymer's *Fœdera*.

APPENDIX E

CONDITIONS OF MEDIAEVAL TRADING BY SEA

It will perhaps be a help to give a few examples of the conditions under which trade between Bordeaux and the island ports was carried on. They are for the most part taken from Rymer.

Examples of Letters of Marque.—In October 1295, letters of marque are granted to certain merchants of Bayonne against the men of Lisbon. (R. i. 828.)

In 1343 Edward III requests Peter of Aragon to revoke the letters of marque granted in consequence of the capture of two vessels by men of Aquitaine; he has ordered the mayor of Bayonne to make redress. (R. ii. pt. II, 1229.)

1413. Order to the bishop of Exeter and Thomas, Lord Carew, to restore a ship of Seville arrested at Dartmouth on pretext of letters of marque to Margery of Coventry.

1414. Petition that the king would grant letters of marque and reprisal against the inhabitants of Milan to recover the dowry of the wife of the late earl of Kent, who was daughter of the late duke of Milan.

1598. The consuls and senate of Emden inform Elizabeth that English merchants can trade at their town, and request her to order her subjects not to molest their ships at sea.

1686. Commission to William, bishop of London, and others to grant letters of marque to persons who have been robbed at sea by foreigners.

In 1378, as an example of apparently unauthorised warfare on his own, Alderman John Philpot of London fitted out a fleet at his own cost, and attacking a Scot, Mercer, who, in the absence of the duke of Lancaster at Bayonne, had taken several ships at Scarborough, took Mercer's ships, and recovered his prizes.

Contraband of War.—In 1295 Adolph, emperor of Germany, complains to Edward I of the seizure of Hansa ships laden with naval stores in English ports, until they gave security not to carry their cargoes to French ports. Edward held that they were contraband of war.

The Royal Navy.—Very few ships apparently were the property of the king. Out of about 700 ships collected by Edward III at Calais, there were 14 Flemish ships, 15 from Bayonne, and 1 from

Ireland. Out of the whole fleet the king only provided 25 ships, unless the foreign ships, in number 38, belonged to or were hired by him.

In 1235 Maurice Fitzgerald, Justiciary of Ireland, was ordered to pay to Olaf, king of Man, *inter alia*, five casks of wine for protecting parts of the coast of England and Ireland. When in 1415 Henry VI collected some 1500 ships, he issued commissions to hire ships of Holland and Zealand, and to arrest ships of 20 tons and upwards and bring them to Winchelsea, London, and Sandwich, and impress mariners.

APPENDIX F

Birdwood on Egypt and India.—Sir George Birdwood, in the *Athenæum* of January 28, 1882, writing of the close dependency of our commercial superiority on the prosperity of India, says: "Every nation is essentially a shop, and oceans and rivers are the high streets of the nations. While the great traffic that has subsisted, and will always subsist, between the East and the West went by its overland routes, the nations situated along the Euphrates, the Nile, and the Mediterranean made the first and almost the whole profit of it. Then when at last it found its way round the Cape, the nations fronting the Atlantic, and particularly England, which fronts at once America and Europe, monopolised it, while the Mediterranean nations had, as it were, to put up their shutters and retire from business for nearly three hundred years. Now that trade is returning to its original overland routes, our disadvantage in relation to them is beginning to be seen, and would be seen still more clearly but for our immense dealings with America. But all the same, the Eastern trade is the great trade current of the world; and France, with her unique advantage of possessing a frontage both on the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, will, if she ever substantially competes with us in the trade of the East Indies, also draw to herself and away from us a proportionate amount of our American trade. The possession which she has just obtained of Tunis—which is Carthage—the corner house of her Algerian shop frontage, gives her a commanding commercial position throughout the African side of the Mediterranean."

In short, our ever-imminent danger lies not in the political rivalry of the aggressive military Powers of the Continent, for if unsupported by industrial productiveness and mercantile activity, this is not to be too greatly feared, but is rather to be apprehended in the growing competition with us of the Mediterranean countries for the commerce of India. Since the opening of the Suez Canal the Eastern products formerly sent to Liverpool and London are being shipped in yearly increasing proportions to Havre, Barcelona, Marseilles, Genoa, Trieste, and Odessa. They are still carried chiefly in English bottoms, even when not consigned to English merchants; but the time must come when they will be borne in French, Spanish, Italian, Austrian, Greek, and Russian ships, loading at Karachi, Bombay, and Calcutta. There is no denying that just now America, North and South, has modified the old theory of the unequalled value to Europe of the trade with the East; for if in tea, silk, and spices the East still holds its own, in all the bulkier staples America seems, for the time, to have swamped both

Asia and Europe. But the preponderance of America cannot continue for ever, and India is already beginning to show that she is capable of competing even with the United States in the exportation of wheat; and when India once begins to supply Europe with the food-stuffs at present received from America, England will have to put forth her whole native force of enterprise to secure her traditional hold on the markets of the world. In this anticipation the immense importance of Egypt to this country, as securing to us some share of the profit on the transit of merchandise between the East and the West, at once becomes obvious. Our whole future, indeed, seems involved in our right use of the opportunities afforded us by the protectorate we have established over Egypt.

APPENDIX G

Lac.—Lac is a resinous exudation produced in India and Farther India on the twigs and branches of certain trees, particularly the *pipal* or "sacred fig" (*Urostigma religiosum*), by the puncture of a species of kermes or cochineal insect called *Coccus lacca.* These minute insects swarm in countless numbers on the extremities of the trees attacked by them, and hence the common Indian dénomination of this substance, *laksha* in Sanskrit and *lakh* in Hindustani, meaning "a hundred thousand." From this word come our words "lac," "lacquer," a varnish of lac, and "lake," the red pigment (consisting of the bodies of the female *Coccus lacca* embedded in the resin exuded about them), extracted by boiling it out from the "raw lac." Lac as produced on the trees from which it is gathered we call "stick lac," and the Hindus *kham-lakh*, *i.e.* "raw lac," corrupted by us and other European peoples into "*gum*-lac," as a generic designation of all commercial forms of lac; none of which, however, contain any admixture of gum with the native resin. The resin in the granular state to which it is reduced in washing out the colouring matter from it is "seed lac"; when this granular lac has been liquefied over a fire, and allowed to consolidate in cakes, it is "lump lac"; and when again melted, and clarified, and run into thin flakes, it is the "shell lac," used so largely by hatters; or, if run out in bright little drops, it is the "button lac" used in the preparation of sealing-wax and varnish. The term "shell lac" is translated directly from the Hindustani *chapra-lac*; and an old commercial name for it was "Spanish wax." "Lake lac," "lac-lake," or "lac-dye" is crude lake formed into little lumps like those of indigo. What the *Lac Tigridis* of Evelyn's "Diary" (June 22, 1664, quoted on p. 220, *note*) may be, I do not know, and have never seen the appellation elsewhere. It may be corrupted from an Indian name of lac; or it may have been used in Evelyn's day to discriminate kermes (*i.e.* the Arabic *kirmij*, "insect" (specifically the female *Coccus ilicis*), whence "carmine" and "cramoisee," and through *vermes*, "vermillion," "vermeil," etc.), the "scarlet grain" of Asia Minor, from the *Lac Sumatri*, the "lake lac" or "lac-lake" of Farther India. The best "lac dye" or "lake" comes from Pegu, Siam, and China, and the best "lump lac" and "shell lac" from Bengal.—*Birdwood's Report*, pp. 39–41.

APPENDIX H

Statistics of Portugal.—In very many respects we are in a position very similar to that of Portugal in the sixteenth century. We hold, like them, our ever-increasing Eastern possessions with a force of European officials drawn from a comparatively small population, men who look to the British Isles as their permanent home. We have seized enormous blocks of territory all over Africa since 1884, giving us little satisfaction except to prevent others getting it, and demanding garrisons scattered in unhealthy regions. We hold the Cape as they held it, and have African colonies corresponding to those remaining to them. And the North American continent is largely occupied by colonies settled by us which revolted from us in the eighteenth century, as Brazil, Portugal's great colony, tired with her revolutions, left her in 1886.

Population of Portugal in 1878 . . .	4,000,315
,, of Azores and Madeira in 1878 .	390,384
,, in Asia in 1878	847,503
,, in Africa in 1878 . . .	2,740,448
,, in Brazil in 1888 . . .	14,002,335

(From "Portugal" in "The Story of the Nations," by Morse Stephens.)

Possessions of Portugal in 1920.

	Area.	Population.	Revenue.	Exports.	Imports.
ASIA.					
Portuguese India.	Sq. Miles.		£	£	£
Goa, Daman, and Diu . .	1,470	605,000	127,300	222,000	1,316,000
Portuguese Timor in Malay Archipelago . .	7,450	300,000	40,000	64,000	80,000
Island of Macao .	3	80,000	127,300	1,700,000	1,520,000
AFRICA.					
Cape Verde Islands	1,475	150,000	690,000	70,000	320,000
Portuguese Guinea	14,000	400,000	62,000	90,000	180,000
San Thomé and Principé Islands	442	45,000	186,500	650,000	520,000
Portuguese West Africa — Angola and Kalmida	480,000	5,000,000	460,000	700,000	1,150,000
Portuguese East Africa—Delagoa Bay, etc. etc. .	300,000	3,200,000	1,100,000	{Total trade}	6,000,000
Totals . .	804,840	9,780,000	2,793,600	{Total trade}	13,316,000

APPENDIX J

ANNUAL REVENUE OF ENGLAND IN 1421

(*Fœdera*, vol. x., pp. 113, 144)

	£	*s.*	*d.*
From customs on wool exported in English ports .	3,976	1	2
Subsidy on wool, *i.e.* inland duty	26,035	18	8½
The small customs	2,438	9	1¼
12*d.* per lb. on goods rated *ad valorem* . . .	8,237	10	9½
The casual revenue by Sheriff's Receipts for quit rents, fee farms, etc., received by them, escheats, duties on sales of provisions and other necessaries, wards, marriages, etc., paid into the Exchequer . .	15,065	11	1

Payments

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Maritime guard of England (8000 marks) . . .	5,333	6	8
Calais and its marches in war time	19,119	5	10
East and West marches of Scotland with Roxburgh Castle in war time	19,500	0	0
Guard of Ireland (2500 marks)	1,666	13	4
Guard of Castle of Fronsac (1100 marks) . . .	666	13	4
Fees of the Treasurer, Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Judges of both Benches, the Barons of the Exchequer and other officials of the King's Court .	3,002	17	6
Salaries of Collectors and Comptrollers of the Customs in England	547	0	0
To sundry Dukes, Earls, Knights and Esquires; the Abbess of Shene; and divers other persons for their annuities at the Exchequer	7,751	12	7¼
To sundry persons for their annuities out of the Customs of sundry ports of England . . .	4,374	4	3
Fees of Collectors and Comptrollers of English ports .	274	3	4

This, according to the record, leaving a surplus of £3507 16*s.* 11½*d.*, the balance is applied: For the King and Queen's chamber; for their households, for their wardrobe; for the building of a new tower at Portsmouth; for the office of Clerk of the King's ships; for the keeping of the King's Lions and salary of the Constable of the Tower; for the artillery and other necessaries of the King's war; for the expense of the King's prisoners; for his embassies; for sundry messengers; for parchment and other necessaries; and for the expense of the Duchess of Holland.

This left unprovided for:

The old debts of the towns of Harfleur and Calais, of the King's wardrobe and household, of the Clerk of the King's ships, of the Clerk of the King's works, the arrears of annuities or yearly salaries, of the executors of Henry IV's will for discharging his debts, and for the debts of the then King while Prince of Wales.

APPENDIX K

SACRIFICE

Sacrifice to the Deity, the acknowledgment of a superior power, will, I believe, be found to exist or to have existed in the history of every race and people, only too often culminating in the human sacrifice as the gift of the best to appease the god. It is only very slowly that the spiritual elements of man's nature, acting on these primitive instincts, perverts them to the symbolism which preserves the essence of the reality. Shall we ever get rid of the perpetual human sacrifice offered in war for various causes? One may wonder what the converted Aztec, if he could understand it, thought of the story of Abraham and Isaac, or of the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation. Except for the awful cult of sacrifice, the theology of the Aztecs would appear to have been of a high moral order, and their conceptions of a future life milder and more reasonable than those of the Christians.

APPENDIX L

SELF GOVERNMENT

The Stoppage of National Growth.—One of the effects of Empire to be guarded against is the depression and often the complete stoppage of growth of an ancient civility in favour of uniformity on the model of the conquering people. Examples are the Greek under the decadent Roman and the Turk, the Fleming alternately under the French and German, the Pole under the partitioning powers, and the Hindoo of India under the Moslem. The ancient civility, often the ancient language, may continue in some degree to exist, but all growth is checked, and the suppressed people take on the attributes of slavery. Then the conqueror who has created the ruin can exult over the decadence of the Greek or Pole and use it as an excuse for the continuance of the depression.

APPENDIX M

THE COMMUNAL SOCIETY

It must be borne in mind throughout that there are as many variations in form of this communal society as it appears at different times and places as there are variations in the individualist systems of Western Europe, as for instance between the land laws of France and England, both allowing absolute ownership by individuals of the soil. As the system appears to-day in various parts of the world it adapts itself to the requirements of commerce or to the neighbourhood of Western Europeans or to the pressure of imperial legislation, modifying the social state until the communal part affects only some one aspect of life. For instance, the Russian Empire remained subject

to this social state until very late in the nineteenth century, long subsequent to the legislation of 1861, the parent village as a social unit throwing off daughter villages from time to time. The free villages had in the course of centuries given way to a feudal nobility under whom the cultivators of the land became serfs. In 1861 these serfs were liberated, and the question of land ownership came forward and has since remained as a main issue. The other aspects of the communal society may remain or decay according to what one may call the foreign relations; but communism in land, this "new system," as our British Minister is reported to have called it, was never absent from Russia, though the overlying feudal aristocracy may have hidden it from Western Europeans. When the revolution comes, it is a natural sequence that the uncommercial villagers should insist that the land belongs to the whole people and shall not be given in perpetuity to the company promoter or concessionnaire of the alien West. Whether a principle of land nationalisation can be used for a complicated commercial system, whether it will work oil wells or not, is beside the question. I do not see why it should not so work, but that does not matter. Only understand that so far from being a new system this mode of living is a primary instinct of human nature, that it has existed from the beginning of historical times, that it is never wholly absent from any society, and that modified by circumstances it still exists side by side with the individual ownership which is necessary for commercial adventure and expansion. So modified it is under one form or another the form of living of three-fourths of the people of the British Empire to-day. It had barely passed from use in Russia in 1918, and its passing had been responsible for much in the late revolution. It is still a potent influence on living in Serbia and Montenegro and other Balkan States. India and the East are almost wholly given over to it; traces of it may be found in every territory which the British people have in their history taken over or conquered from other nations.

An Anglo-Indian official in May 1922, answering my question how far the greater family is still the basis of Indian life, writes: "I believe it certainly is. It is far weaker in Bengal than anywhere else owing to a certain authority called the Dagaphaga. And in Bengal the grown-up sons are practically independent. But even with them the family is always in the background of their lives, and generally speaking they continue to recognise its obligations. Elsewhere among the Hindus the tie is much stronger."

"The people of India," says Sir John Stedman Cotton ("New India," p. 149), speaking of our treatment of the Indian village community, "possess an instinctive capacity for local self-government which centuries of misrule have not eradicated. The inhabitants of an Indian village under their own princes formed a sort of petty republic, the affairs of which were managed by hereditary officers, any unfit person being set aside by popular judgment. . . . We have subverted the entire organisation of the village communities; we have substituted in place of the economic fabric by which the agricultural classes were held together a costly and mechanical centralisation."

This is the expression of opinion of a distinguished Indian Civil Servant of long experience and hereditary association with India.

It may be softened and better explained by a further quotation from another author of the same character. "An Oriental institution is what it has grown to be by the effect of custom and the wear and tear of historical events. To take it up, turn it round and force it into the mould of any European definition or theory of taxation is impossible. (B.P. i. 280.) The native governments which cared nothing about estimates and financial equilibrium were always to be elastic; they ran up the nominal revenue to a high figure which they perhaps rarely exacted to the full." Take thy bill and sit down quickly and write fifty. "There is a rigidity about our system that whatever its justification is not always acceptable to the Oriental mind. We fix the same revenue for good and for bad years, assuming that the man has looked ahead and put by money, which he does not do. If he did, he would put it where the tax collector could not get it."

Forcing the institutions of Western people on the East may be a calamity to both and a danger to the Empire. Nor is the calamity or danger confined to the social institutions of a people. It is equal folly to attempt to graft on to the native trunk some growth of politics which in the course of long ages has proved itself suitable for the locality of the federal power. For the political like the social framework is instinctive in man, however much the tyrant or the demagogue may distort it, adapting itself freshly to the conditions of a people's life.

We have accounts of such early society by Caesar of the Gauls and Britons, and by Tacitus of the Germans, besides many other references in classical authors, and we have also very interesting evidence in the later collections of the laws and customs of Wales, and as modified to meet commercial needs in the Scandinavian Records, Laws and Sagas, in the Customary Laws of the Normans, and in many other French records, and in the laws and customs of the Mexicans and of the Incas of Peru. But our chief authorities for this communal society come from two great collections of customary law from countries under British rule, *both being from lands which never knew the federal dominion of Rome*—Ireland and India. Both collections are of very great antiquity and very highly elaborated, showing that this form of communal society could attain a very high state of civility, superior in some respects to the Roman pattern. The legal custom of Ireland has been destroyed by us as conflicting with the decadent feudalism of the Stuarts; that of India has continued in use to our own time.

APPENDIX N

THE EMPIRES OF THE FAR EAST

As we see the early story of these islands and of our Empire by the light only of Roman and mediaeval records derived from and imitative of Rome, we may fail to realise that when the Roman Empire decayed, organised life did not of necessity cease to exist. If the Greek or Phoenician merchant was driven from his Mediterranean market, he did not cease to trade; he only moved his operations to a safer

quarter, and he became a citizen of or a trader in an Arabian or Persian or Chinese empire, where his profits would be great and secure.

The form of society of all these great empires of the Far East was communal, and for the most part they retain this form.

There was considerable intercourse between the empires of the Far East and Roman authority both at Rome and Byzantium in those days. Embassies, for instance, went from China to Rome in the first, second and third centuries of our era, and in the seventh and eighth Heraclius and Leo the Isaurian sent embassies to China, very likely with the view of suggesting an alliance against the Arabian Moslems who were then overrunning Europe. But the dangers and great delay of long time concerned in overland travel through Central Asia from Rome and Byzantium to the Far East confined the intercourse within very narrow limits. Even the Crusaders failed to open a sea trade route for Europeans to the East, the trade of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf remaining in the hands of the Orientals. Isolated travellers and various ecclesiastics made their way to the Courts of emperors of the Far East; some were employed for scientific or medical or diplomatic purposes by the Eastern rulers; some spent their lives in the East. But until in much later times the Europeans—the Portuguese, followed by Dutch and British—reached out across the world by way of West Africa and the Cape of Good Hope and came into close contact with these great empires, the East was practically unknown to the men of the West. The Iberians have discovered for us Europeans some two-thirds of the known world. They even made an entrance for trade into China, the oldest empire in the world, having an actual history dating back at least 4000 years, with a long tradition behind that. We are inclined to undervalue the Chinese people themselves, and the lessons to be learnt from their handling of the problems, political and social, presented to them through the centuries. In the long course of Chinese history the rulers and their advisers have plumbed every depth of human weakness and have shown intimate acquaintance with it in their dealings with the aspirations of mankind. For instance, knowing the hankering after high lineage of the new rich, instead of making Mr. Joseph, when he had made some money or done some other meritorious act, Sir Joseph the knight, the Chinese ruler gave rank and title to his grandfather, who had been dead these hundred years, as Lord Abraham, and so enabled Joseph to trace descent from a deceased noble.

We have copied some of their worst things from the Chinese; such, for instance, as competitive examinations for government office, a system which in China leaves the enormous surplus of unsuccessful candidates, who might if they had not wasted years in preparation for their unsuccess have become valuable workers, with an agitated brain to prey on society and its constituted rulers. If the unsuccessful candidate is a man who has not forgotten his better instincts, he only levies blackmail as a corrupt, unpaid hanger-on of the official world in the hope of possible preferment; if he has lost all self-respect, he robs and terrorises rich and poor as a policeman, earning his living by the use of the whip or by murder and arson.

Our belief in the efficacy of this institution is not shared by some of our fellow Indian subjects. "Mind," writes the Indian

Rabindranath Tagore, "when long deprived of its natural food of truth and freedom of growth, develops an unnatural craving for success, and our students have fallen victims to the mania for success in examinations. The definition of this success is to be able to obtain the largest number of marks with the strictest economy of knowledge. It is a deliberate cultivation of disloyalty to truth, of intellectual dishonesty, of a foolishness by which mind is encouraged to rob itself. But as we are made to forget existence of mind we are extremely happy in the result. We pass examinations and shrivel up into clerks, lawyers and police inspectors, and die young."

But we owe some of the greatest of our advantages of European civilisation to the Chinese: the introduction of valuable breeds of beast and fowl, many valuable plants and many most beautiful and useful arts and manufactures, in which they continue to excel us. With respect to many of the arts now in use in Europe discovery in China has preceded that in Europe by many centuries. The Chinese are responsible for colossal works of engineering, great canals, roads and bridges, to say nothing of the Great Wall built to keep out the Tartar tribes of Central Asia; their first newspaper, the *Pekin Gazette*, dates back to the eighth century; in the same century they are said to have used artillery and paper money. Learned travellers in the Far East in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries tell us of the very high civilisation of the China of that day, such a contrast to the Western Europe then just struggling into civility, of the china clay and of its manufacture, of their paintings, of the silk manufactures, of the paper money like our Treasury notes stamped with the king's stamp and renewed from the mint, of the provisions for the sick and aged and blind, of the paintings of strangers exhibited on the walls and in the streets, to be sent to other provinces if there was occasion for their arrest, of the registration of travellers, of the control of inns, and of the gardens around every man's house.

The European has developed his democratic institutions through Christianity. His is a society based on the energy and responsibility of the individual, and he has devoted his talents to the improvement of all matters connected with war. Secure in his superiority of military power he rushes over the world, seeking to impose his habits of living on all alike, whether suitable or not to their condition or historical conceptions.

The Chinaman, on the contrary, like the Indian, is a peaceable steady worker, very thorough in all the arts of peace. Like the Indian, he has always been accustomed to autocratic government. During his four thousand years of history one dynasty of absolute rulers after another, Chinese, Mongol, Chinese, Manchu, have controlled the political destinies of the country. But the dynasties have passed over the land like a breeze stirring the trees. As happens to all communities which are founded on the true social instinct and have not become through industrial conditions anarchical collections of disunited peoples, the society remains unchanged and unchanging under the restless and variable federal power. Each ruler of China in turn, whether Chinese, Mongol, or Manchu, adopted and acknowledged the unchanging features of Chinese life and ruled by Chinese methods which had not varied in long ages.

The individual in the East is compelled to consider the interests of the society which secures its local liberty under the federal autocratic rule. "Groups of families," says Mr. A. R. Colquhoun ("Transformation of China"), "constitute villages which are self-governing, and the official who ventures to trench on their immemorial rights to the point of resistance is disavowed by his superiors, and generally finds a change of scene imperative. The family, with its extension to village and town groups, is the cheapest form of government extant, for it dispenses with police. They enjoy unexampled liberty."

The same observation is true of India and in fact of the whole East. "Invasion succeeded invasion," writes an Anglo-Indian official of long experience, "dynasty succeeded dynasty; but the village republics, although they bent, never broke under the various storms. Jat, Goojer, Mahratta, and other ancient races, through all the passing changes, have remained absolute proprietors of their holdings, and the village communities, though many have changed their religion, remain the same. In them alone there is durability, and in them alone lies the future of India; any system of local self-government under the British Crown to foster the advancement of the Indian people must be based on the autonomous village. To introduce anything like Home Rule in the present condition of India would simply mean a return to the worst of those evils which British rule ended."

The story of the Imperial dynasties of the Far East is the story of the archetype of all empires where federal institutions are not founded on the co-operation of the people in government. It predicates the most extensive local autonomy, but the federal power itself begins with each dynasty in conquest by some military genius whose descendants, though there may among them arise an occasional strong ruler, show the steady degeneracy of education and life in court circles until they are supplanted by some new military leader.

APPENDIX O

WOOLLEN TRADE AND CALICOES

A pamphlet called "The Weavers' True Case, 1719," asserted that the wearing of calicoes was a natural evil and charged that the weavers were thrown out of work by importation of calicoes from the East (which paid a duty of 6*d.* a yard), that women who used to line their English calicoes with light silk called sarcenet, had now become used to lining them with calico, that the weavers had almost been ruined twenty years previously by East India silks and calicoes, until they were prohibited —("odious in woollen, 'twould a saint provoke"). "This common evil to the whole nation," the author says, "hath spread itself, like an inveterate plague, over all our womenkind, from the ladies of the best rank down to the lowest servant maids, to the destruction of the woollen manufactory which is truly the principal nourishment of our body politick." He puts the evil of wearing these Indian goods down to the Jacobites. "What," he says, "could better support and back their

whole scheme (of inviting the Pretender and the Spaniard to invade this nation, and to raise a rebellion to favour it) than the universally promoting the wearing of such commodities as they knew must necessarily bring the utmost calamity and misery upon the poorest sort of working people?" etc. etc.

Swift's "Drapier's Letters," in which, like Gandhi at the present day, he advocated the support of home industries to the exclusion of English woollen, might be read with this to advantage.

Of course the conflict gave rise to endless smuggling. "A Brief State of the Question between the Printed and Painted Calicoes and the Woollen and Silk Manufactures of 1719," enumerates the varieties of illicit imports: (1) the goods smuggled from Holland, printed in Holland and India; (2) those brought in by the East India Company but prohibited because printed in India, pretended to be re-exported, and then run in again; (3) goods printed here, entered and shipped for export to get the drawback, and then re-landed; and lastly (4) goods printed here and legally sold and used.

The French East India Company started by Colbert in 1664 were only allowed by the French government to bring silks and calicoes into the country for export.

APPENDIX P

THE POLICY OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

"All war is so contrary to our constitution that we cannot too often inculcate to you our aversion thereto; let this be received as a rule; if you will profit seek it at sea and in quiet trade; for without controversy it is an error to affect garrisons and land wars in India" (Sir Thomas Roe). "The first principle on which the Company's settlements were established was entirely commercial. They had obtained firmans or royal grants for establishing themselves in Bengal, Madras, and Surat, with privilege of trading, duty free, etc. As the government was strong they did not fortify to any great extent. When the Empire weakened the governors of the distant provinces threw off its authority, considered their offices as hereditary and levied large armies for the payment of which they extorted money from the Europeans" ("Lord Clive's Letter to the Proprietors of the East India Stock, 1764"). The change of policy is very clearly shown in a resolution passed by the Company for the guidance of the local governments in India at one of their darkest moments in 1689, when they had given up their factories in Bengal, had been driven from Vizagapatam and Masulipatam by the Moguls with a massacre of the factors, and had seen Bombay pillaged by the Saed of Minjira (?). "The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care as much as our trade; 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India; without that we are but a great number of interlopers united by His Majesty's Royal Charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent it; and upon this

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account it is that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices that we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare and increase of their revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade."

Fryer, in 1672, writes of the Dutch: "They, as they gain ground, secure it by vast expenses, raising forts and maintaining soldiers; ours are for raising auctions and retrenching charges; bidding the next age grow rich as they have done, but not affording them the means."

APPENDIX Q

THE ACCOUNTS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1708

The following account current of the East India Company in 1708, when the two Companies were united, may be of interest as exhibiting its difficulties.

29th Sept. 1708.

Dr.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
To money at intt. owing to sundry on the Co.'s seal	1,035,488	9	3
To 6 months' intt. thereon due this day . .	31,063	9	1
To intt. for several bonds that may have 12 or 18 mos. due .	3,000	0	0
To intt. on bonds owing more than the 70 % will pay from this date to the 1st of March next .	6,425	16	7
To Almshouse at Poplar owing to them . .	2,700	0	0
To customs and freight and to several persons for goods sold in private trade .	9,728	10	9
To customs and freight due to the United Co.	16,312	5	3
To money owing several for intt. on their stock not demanded .	6,918	18	5
Carried forward	£1,111,637	9	4

1708.

Cr.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
By 70 per cent. on £988,500 due from United Co.	691,950	0	0
By intt. thereon due this day .	20,758	10	0
By 6 mos. intt. on the fund due at Xmas . .	39,540	0	0
By the 8 and 12 quarterly payments on £315,000 subscribed to the fund . .	12,600	0	0
By a moiety of 5 % pd. by the Separate Traders to the United Co.	8,328	15	8
By disbursements for the United Co. . .	17,000	0	0
By £28,000 stock in the names of Charles Du Bois and T. W. in trust and intt. thereon to the 1st March next	30,229	3	5
By £1,100 10*s.* in the name of Robert Blackburn in trust .	1,100	10	0
Carried forward	£821,506	19	1

Dr.	£	s.	d.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	1,111,637	9	4	Brought forward	821,506	19	1
				By goods remaining in the warehouses . .	1,000	0	0
				By good debts in England . .	3,000	0	0
To a moiety of factors' salaries payable here, and money paid into the Co.'s cash in India to be repaid here .	25,000	0	0	By cash remaining this day .	24,504	19	4
To charges from this day to 25th March . .	10,000	0	0		£850,011	18	5
To balance of the Indian account as by the Lord Treasurer's award . .	96,615	4	9				
To difference on £28,000 stock in contra with the present market price, 85 per cent. . .	6,429	3	5				
To difference on £1,100 10*s.* in contra . .	165	10	0	By balance .	399,795	9	1
	£1,249,807	7	6		£1,249,807	7	6

Signed by Accountant-General and his deputy.

(From Appendix to "Ledger and Sword," by Beckles Willson, 1903.)

APPENDIX R

THE MUSLINS OF DACCA, AND THE MANUFACTURES OF ENGLAND

"About 1675," says Birdwood, "Indian piece goods or calicoes (*i.e.* of Calicut) and muslins (*i.e.*, of Mosul; Masulipatam has always been famous for its muslins) of every description began largely to supplant the use of cambrics, lawns, and other linen fabrics. The muslins of Dacca, chequered, striped, spotted, flowered, and finest of all the plain, which have been famous from Roman and, as would now seem, from Babylonian and Assyrian times, were first imported by the East India Company into England between 1660 and 1670. The Company greatly fostered their manufacture.

"This profitable trade between India and England promised, all through the last quarter of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries, to grow to unbounded proportions, but after 1721 was deliberately and pitilessly destroyed by the prohibitory duties and other penal enactments enforced against it; first, by those interested in bolstering up the woollen, linen, and silk manufactures of this country in their rapidly languishing competition with the cheap,

2 E

light, and gaily-figured cotton cloths of India; and then, after Sir Richard Arkwright's revolutionary invention (1767–69) had made it impossible to secure a monopoly for our woollen, linen, and silk manufacturers, by those interested in the new English cotton manufactures, founded on Hargreaves' 'spinning-jenny' (1764–67), and Arkwright's 'spinning frame.' In 1700 it was enacted, 'that from and after the 29th day of September, 1701, all wrought silks, and stuffs mixed with silk or herba, of the manufacture of Persia, China, or the East Indies, *and all calicoes, painted, dyed, printed, or stained there*, which are or shall be imported into this kingdom, shall not be worn or otherwise used in Great Britain; and all goods imported after that day shall be warehoused and exported again.' An Act of 1721 imposed a fine of £5 upon the weaver, and of £20 upon the seller of a piece of calico 'or any stuff made of, or mixed with cotton, printed, dyed, or stained,' except muslins, and 'calicoes dyed all blue.' In 1736 this Act was so far modified that calicoes manufactured in Great Britain were allowed to be worn provided the warp was of linen. In 1774 a statute was passed, expressly to encourage the English calico manufacturers, allowing goods wholly of cotton to be made and used, and reducing the duty on the same from sixpence to threepence per yard. This started the great piece-goods industry of Lancashire. India still continued to enjoy a monopoly in the production of the fine muslins of Dacca. But when in 1785 the use of the 'mule jenny' (invented by Samuel Crompton, 1779) was introduced at Nottingham, and two years afterwards 500,000 pieces of muslin in imitation of the coarser Dacca denominations were rolled off the power looms of Great Britain, an end was at once put to the importation of this last immemorially famous denomination of the artistically perfected textile manufactures of the East.

"The cry then was to protect the British manufacturer from the competition of the Dacca weavers, and a duty of 75 per cent. was imposed on all Indian cotton goods. In consequence the importation of Dacca muslins to this country, the value of which in 1787 stood at 30 lakhs of rupees, gradually fell to 8½ lakhs in 1807, and to 3½ lakhs in 1813, until it ceased altogether in 1817, when the Company's Residency at Dacca was abolished. And although in 1825 the duty was reduced to 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, this had little effect in reviving the manufacture of Dacca muslins, as about this very time English mule twist began to be largely imported for weaving into India, where its consumption rose from 3,063,556 lb. in 1827 to 6,624,823 lb. in 1831, to the almost entire exclusion of the use of native thread, from which alone the finer varieties of Dacca cloths can be made. Melancholy indeed," continues Birdwood, "and a bitter rebuke to the people of England, is the contrast between the prosperous condition of Dacca under the East India Company in the last century and the impoverished state to which it was reduced when, at the beginning of the present (nineteenth) century, the Imperial Parliament began seriously to interfere with the Company's administration in India. Still more sad and humiliating is it to reflect that the desolation which then swept over Dacca also more or less overtook every one of the ancient polytechnic cities of India, and everywhere as the result of the disadvantages we so unrighteously enforced against them in their

already unequal competition with the rising manufacturing towns of Nottingham, Warrington, and Glasgow.

"It is impossible, however, to suppress for ever the industrial force of 200,000,000 of patient people in possession of so naturally productive a country as India; and since the introduction at Bombay, in 1857, of English cotton mills, notwithstanding that the cost of building and working them is double what it is at home, they have, for the past thirty-three years, been turning out yearly increasing quantities of yarns and cloths, until they are now actually supplying, in yearly increasing quantities, the lower counts of twists and coarser denominations of cotton cloths to all the chief Eastern markets, hitherto, that is from 1827, monopolised by Manchester. Dacca also still continues to export small quantities of its hand-loom flowered muslins to Persia, Syria, Egypt, and Turkey" (Sir George Birdwood, "Report on the Old Records of the India Office," 1881, pp. 59, 60, 88, 224, 225). So Birdwood in 1881. In 1922 Gandhi has headed in India a movement deprecating violence as a means of obtaining redress of grievances from our rulers, but urging as a policy the disuse of British textiles and a revival of this hand-loom industry in India. Commenting on the situation, one of our great London magazines in June 1922, ignoring, or more probably ignorant of the historical side, gives as a reason for the decay of these Indian industries: "In Dacca, Eastern Bengal, the finest muslin such as cows used to lick up with the grass is no longer made chiefly because so few Indians are now rich enough to buy it." If so, it is of no credit to us that the poverty of the Indians under our rule should have become so great or that we should imprison those who attempt to revive their ancient industries.

Sir George Birdwood's use of the terms "unrighteous, bitter rebuke, humiliating," as applied to the treatment of India by the Anglo-Scot, raises in a most acute form the relation between the British Islands and the supposedly inferior races, those peoples who, whether by conquest or cession or treaty, have become part of our vast Empire.

There is no unrighteousness about the protection of the industries of the islanders from unfair competition of peoples outside the Empire. There can be no gospel of freedom of trade. It is essential for any progress of the world or of the nations of the world. But until there is complete freedom of trade between nations, all the terms on which trade is conducted between them must be matter of mutual accommodation and compromise. The defect of the Cobden school of free imports has been that it deprives the Empire, as against the outside world, of its power of bargaining, while permitting the dumping nation to compete at a very great advantage (*e.g.*, non-payment of rates, taxes and contributions in the invaded country) as against the manufacturers within.

But there can be no question whatever that as between the nations forming the Empire, the wealthy nation which exercises the legislative power is both wrong and foolish in imposing tariffs or regulations depressing the industries of the poorer peoples. If tariffs have been abandoned as a means of protecting the British manufacturers from honest competition within, it is equally a bitter rebuke to the British that they should prosecute the pacifist leader whose answer to alleged misgovernment is a proposal to give up the use of British cloth and

revive the ancient hand-loom industries of the East. Whether these hand-loom home industries can succeed against the increasingly degrading conditions of machine manufacture is a matter which, if honesty were possible in politics, could safely be left to free competition in the Empire. In this matter the Indians are just as likely to be right or wrong as the people of Lancashire.

APPENDIX S

THE SUBJECTS OF THE EAST INDIA TRADE

The following is from "Some Thoughts on the Present State of our Trade to India, by a London Merchant," 1758, said to have been written by one George Edward Pakenham, a merchant. He asserts that the war was brought on (in the East ?) by the English Company rejecting the offers of a neutrality made by the French in respect of that part of the world. Accusing the English Company, he speaks of "this injured, this almost exhausted nation (of its real wealth in specie)." He sets out an account from the Bills of Entry of the Custom House and printed declarations of each ship's cargo, and the sales books at auctions, as follows:

Invoice Exports, Tonnage on 14 Ships.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
1,442 tons iron	21,630	0	0
610 tons ordnance, etc.	30,500	0	0
450 tons steel	22,500	0	0
180 tons nails	4,500	0	0
895 tons lead	15,215	0	0
800 tons cordage	32,000	0	0
550 tons stores, valued at	305,000	0	0
260 tons brass, copper, and pewter	26,000	0	0
100 tons gunpowder	8,000	0	0
32 tons quicksilver	9,600	0	0
Woollen cloths	110,000	0	0
Stuffs	50,000	0	0
Perpets	40,000	0	0
3,000 doz. hose	3,000	0	0
Gold	4,319	6	8
Silver	785,203	9	1
Total	£1,503,344	15	9

Imports in piece goods amount to £1,673,000.

	£
32,539,000 lbs. of Tea at 4*s.* per lb.	624,475
2,000,000 lbs. of Pepper at 1*s.*	100,000
1,141,000 lbs. of Coffee at 1*s.* 6*d.*	85,575
203,850 lbs. of Raw Silk at 20*s.*	203,850
900 tons Saltpetre at £70 per ton	63,000
250 tons Redwood at £30 per ton	7,500
600 Chests China Ware and Drugs	99,600
Less Custom charges, duties and discounts	695,625

The charges he sets out as:

	£
Freight on 8,500 tons of shipping	85,000
Wages and provisions for 1,700 men at £5 per month	204,000
Intt. on bonds 2 years at 3 %	90,000
Directors, Clerks, etc., £10,000 per annum . .	20,000
Warehouses cost £100,000 at 8 %	16,000
Shipping and landing of 8,500 tons	8,500
	£423,500

He estimates the commodities re-exported at £650,000. The figures are those of an enemy of the Company and of the East India trade generally, but they give an idea of the character of the trade.

"Tea," says this beer drinker, "mean, dirty drug established by luxury, is become a necessary of life."

Mun's "Discourse of Trade from England to the East Indies," 1621, asserted the annual consumption of pepper, cloves, nutmegs, indigo, mace, and raw silk in Europe was 8,350,000 lb., of which England took about a tenth. The original price paid for them was more than recovered by the re-export of the rest to the Continent, and the entire cost of the ships, wages, provisions, and insurance was paid out of the gross profits of the Company's trade. The bullion exported was far more than balanced by the bullion paid in from the Continent for re-exported cargo.

APPENDIX T

LAND TENURES IN INDIA—THE INDIGO CASE

What follows is for the most part from Sir George Campbell's account of "Land Tenures in India," checked by other authorities, but not always in his own words.

In the North-West Provinces a system grew up of granting short leases to the nearest man, the villages, where no one appeared to have any rights, being let to farmers. This leading to great abuses, he says, an arrangement was made in 1822 by which landowners were to have long leases with right of renewal. The difficulty was over the right to raise the rents on increased value of the land. The tendency in many of the small estates, which at first seemed all that could be desired, is to the gradual creation of a small proprietary class, above cultivating themselves, and not efficient as landlords.

The Jat villages in the Punjab, villages inhabited by a body of clansmen imagining a descent from a common ancestor, are tributary republics. The Jats are proprietors generally attended by a servile class, the land being held subject to a rent. In the case of a sale of individual rights, there was a right of pre-emption in other members of the community. The village community collects and hands over the revenue.

In the Madras territory the State dealt with the individual and not with the joint village. Here all the waste lands were considered as government property to be let by it to whom it pleased. In 1879 was passed a Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act for the relief of indebted ryots.

Of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, he treats of the Great Rent case

over the growing of indigo, the oldest industrial enterprise in India. The English merchants became middlemen under the zemindars, taking leases of the villages from them. They bought the indigo for a price fixed by custom from the ryots. They did not try to raise the rents, but made their profit out of the indigo. When prices and values rose and the price of indigo became too low, the planters tried to impose an increased rent without paying any higher prices for the indigo. They put pressure on the ryots to grow and deliver the indigo or to give up their lands. The ryot would neither deliver the indigo nor pay the increased rent. This rack-renting and grinding down of the ryots was denounced by the English officials, especially by Sir Ashley Eden. The great Rent case decided that the rent should rise with the rise in value of agricultural produce. Bengal and Behar differed in this, that in Bengal proper the ryots are mostly Moslem and democratic, with many small middlemen, while in Behar the ryots are Hindoo, and the superiors great landlords with a system of primogeniture. Here the landlords have to a great extent ignored the rights given to the cultivators in 1793 and 1859.

In Assam there is ryotwari occupation and no zemindars. Grants of waste land have been made to tea planters.

In Oude, after the mutiny, Lord Canning treated the Chiefs as James treated the Irish, making them feudal landlords and giving them the lands of the people. He attempted to reserve some rights for the cultivators, but they were for the most part unwilling to be bound by written leases. "It may be said that the ryots generally failed of the proof necessary to give them any legal status."

The land tenure systems, both Hindoo and Moslem, are very complicated and unrecorded. "To this," says Sir George Campbell, "it must be added that our judicial system has encouraged to the utmost the worst technicalities of law, and a practice under which witnesses have been numbered rather than weighed. . . . Where we have tried to create tenures on the analogy of the English landlord and tenant, we have opened the door to much oppression of the ryot."

APPENDIX U

KING'S CASUAL REVENUE

As examples of these perquisites I note the following. (1) *From Aquitaine:* The right of wreckage. Edward III ("Rot. Vasc., 31 Edw. III," c. 12) warns the nobles not to take wreckage to the prejudice of the King. Notre Dame de Senlac is entitled to wreckage over two great leagues and a half of coast. (2) *From Normandy:* Hamo of Pincerna about 1180 accounts for the baile of Bayeux for sums received from potters for earth taken by them in the forest, and for receipts from lands in the hands of the Crown by wardship and forfeiture, and Philip du Champ Segré is indebted in two moulting hawks for the loss of a royal eyry (Stapleton's "Great Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy"). (3) *From Essex:* Licence to John Brown for his lifetime to fell as much as he will of his own wood and heath within the forest of Essex without view of the King's foresters there and to make his profit thereof ("C.P.R.," vii. 1345–8). (4) *From Rutland:* Licence to make a deer-leap in a private park a mile and

a half from the nearest covert of the forest of Rutland ("C.P.R.," 1340–43, p. 6). (5) *From Cornwall:* A licence to fish for whales from St. Michael's Mount to Dartmouth ("6 John, Oblata Rolls," 1204, p. 191). (6) *From the Channel Islands:* In 1332 the King's mills produced 101 livres out of 1130 livres of revenue ("Histoire du Cotentin et ses Iles," par Gustave Dupont, 1870, vol. ii. p. 244). (7) As other examples from Madox, "History of Exchequer": A man amerced in four marks for withdrawing from a duel; Otho de Barkeston in £151 and a mark for marrying without licence a woman who was in the king's gift; and Jeremy of London in £100 for flying into a church and refusing to come forth and stand to right in the king's court. In short, anything that happened to anyone that could be turned to the king's advantage was made the subject of a payment, either as a fine for an offence or as a licence to commit something forbidden, or for some casual event which may occasionally happen. Modern instances could be quoted.

APPENDIX V

Territorial Revenues and Charges of India, for the Year 1829–30, from Thornton's "History of the East India Company," 1833, p. 264.

Revenues.	£
Mints	36,483
Post Office	132,565
Stamps	424,692
Judicial	114,670
Land Revenue	14,314,660
Customs	1,837,127
Ceded Territory	569,676
Burmese Cessions	103,240
Salt	2,421,619
Opium	1,757,400
Marine	61,769
Ava Indemnification	92,220
Bhutpore	34,800
Subsidies	392,355
Bank profits	8,640
Total	£22,301,916
Deduct our estimate of Revenue of Bombay	247,500
Total Revenue	£22,054,416

In 1789 the Revenue of the three Presidencies was said to be—

Bengal	£5,182,000
Madras	1,082,000
Bombay	131,000
	£6,395,000

Charges.	£
Civil charges	1,781,171
Provincial Battalions and in the Western Provinces	132,124
Mints	80,768
Post Office	128,947
Stamps	105,674
Judicial	1,694,908
Land Revenue	3,323,925
Customs	196,916
Ceded Territory	451,696
Burmese Cessions	41,760
Salt	607,691
Opium	666,420
Marine	339,410
Claims on Carnatic	24,000
Buildings and Repairs	516,201
Military	9,103,091
Total	£18,888,702
Interest on debts	2,139,117
Expenses of St. Helena	93,004
Political charges incurred in England, including invoice account of stores consigned to India	1,742,162
Total charges	£22,862,985
Total Revenue	22,054,416
Surplus charge 1829–30	£808,569

APPENDIX W

WRITTEN RECEIPTS AND ILLEGAL CESSES IN INDIA

From an Anglo-Indian of thirty years' experience of India, in May 1922: "I was very interested in the cutting you sent me of an article by a gentleman who calls himself St. Nihal Singh. Whether he is trustworthy or not I could not say, but he has gone straight to the real and only point of importance in the question of Indian trouble, namely: Is anybody outside the minute educated portion of the population taking any interest in political matters? There was an article in the London *Times* about a movement run by a low-caste oilman, in which the people swear that they will not pay any rent without proper receipts, and will not pay illegal cesses, commonly called 'abwabs.' The writer evidently cannot believe that any movement could have such an apparently moderate goal as this, and does not realise that if the two ends were obtained the whole relation of landlord and tenant, which is after all the thing that governs the whole life of the people, would be revolutionised. I cannot imagine anything that would make the whole landlord class more insane with rage than real compulsion to give proper receipts. As for 'abwabs' they were made illegal in the eighteenth century, but the lawyers of the High Court could not tolerate such an interference with freedom of contract, and both then and hereafter, when the legislation was repeated, managed to nullify it with rulings. So that when a record of rights was made in one district, I think it was Dharbanga, it was found that the 'abwabs' exceeded the rent over the whole district. The writer goes on to talk the most amazing rubbish about the landlord who has inherited his land from a long line of ancestors and is more likely to have a sense of responsibility towards his tenants and to stand to them in a more or less paternal relation. If there are any Indian landlords who regard themselves as having any duty to their tenants at all, they certainly could not be found without the most laborious use of a sieve. Nothing is more illustrative of the stupidity of forcing our ideas on Indians than our creation of a landlord class in Bengal with the vague idea that they will turn into something like an English squire."

It was the misuse of these perquisites, these illegal cesses by the French nobility in the eighteenth century, which was one of the most potent of the many causes which brought about that worst of all orgies of massacre of the best, the French Revolution. The trouble was not the monopoly of land, but the oppressive exercise of miscellaneous rights over it. There were a very great number of small proprietors of land in France before the Revolution, besides the large properties, a condition which only arrests excessive partition by imposing a check on population. According to official statistics in France in 1868, besides some eleven million acres held in common as forest and by communes, there were 7,845,724 proprietors rural and urban. An estimate made by an English M.P., quoted by M. de Lavergne in "Economie Rurale de la France," gives 250,000 landowners for England.

APPENDIX X

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

" A Memoir on the Land Tenure and Principles of Taxation obtaining in the Provinces attached to the Bengal Presidency," by a Civilian in the East India Company's Service, 1832, gives the following account of the origin of the settlement. The zemindars, agents of collection, he says (quoting an inquiry into the nature of zumendaree tenancy by James Grant, London, 1790), borrowed money in advance on their collections by mortgage on the growing crops at a high rate of interest. The mortgagees pressed them for the loans and the government called for the land tax. The Supreme Court of Bengal, treating them as government servants, issued process against them for the amount of the debts, several millions of rupees, to private persons. The proprietary rights in the land were in the cultivators. It may be said of all landed tenures in India, prior to our rule, that they were not transferable by sale, and the seizure and sale of land for private debt was utterly unknown. Both under Hindoo and Moslem the property in the soil remained in the cultivator, the zemindar being merely an official, collector of revenue and head of police, an office not hereditary though always tending to be so. A Hindoo cannot dispose of anything by will, as the law stands, except such personal property as he may have himself acquired. He gives an extract from the Moslem Hidayah: the ruler may impose a tax or tribute, after which the lands remain the property of the people. It may only be sold subject to the privilege of pre-emption. Juffar Khan dismissed the old zemindars and put collection in the hands of men who had no interests in common with the cultivators. In the later days of decadence of the Moguls many of the collectors were merely robbers who seized the office. Under both Hindoo and Moslem the waste land belonged to the community, that is, the State.

The ruin of the zemindars would have been extremely inconvenient to the government, and would have reduced largely the practice of the lawyers. Sir Elijah Impey, writing to Lord Weymouth in 1780, gives as a reason for submitting the zemindars to the jurisdiction of the Court for their past debts, that otherwise "the advocates, attornies and officers of the Court, who have not already succeeded, will be reduced to a most deplorable situation." So the Advocate-General, Sir John Day, declared the zemindars to be landlords, and as such not subject to the jurisdiction of the Court; the revenue Code was drafted in England by English lawyers in direct opposition to the expressed opinion of the most enlightened Company's servants of that day; and the Governor-General and his Council supported the view, and "without evidence, without proof, without investigation, the British legislature have delivered over as tenants at will millions of free proprietors to the tender mercies of a race of tax gatherers and speculators, who though not possessing a foot of land have been by a stroke of the pen converted into exclusive proprietors and seignorial lords of the Bengal provinces."

So far as the theory of the law goes the Code gave all the underholders the same security of tenure against the zemindar as he had

against the State. But, says the Civilian, because of the time, cost, and powers of appeal, "to refer the cultivators to the Courts of Law for a remedy against the zemindar was tantamount to a denial of justice." Laws were passed punishing the ryots by fine and imprisonment for litigious or groundless complaints against the zemindars, and the Code prohibited all reference to the detailed accounts of assessable assets in each estate which had formed the basis of all previous assessments. It interdicted all measurements. So zemindars who gave in false returns were in a better position than the honest men. No registry was kept of rights, and the Patwaris unchecked became the servants of the zemindars.

The true cause of the injustice (as with the question of Russian land ownership to-day) was the ignorance of the Englishman of any system of living or of land tenure except his own present. The Report from the Commissioner of Lawsuits at Fort William in 1778, previous to the Settlement, says: "As soon as the state and rights of a zemindar are clearly fixed and explained to the lawyers in the Court, they will by analogy class him with some kinds of tenures in England and conduct their suits not according to the principles of this government, but by the authority and maxims which the law of England hath laid down with respect to such tenures."

"The exclusive partiality," says the Civilian, "for the institutions of the Mother Country which most Englishmen are apt to entertain, which not only induces us to overrate them, but impels us to depreciate without due examination all doctrines upholding principles at variance with the system which early predilection or national vanity makes us believe to be immaculate in spite of those most obvious and palpable proofs to the contrary which every day's experience elicits . . . the origin of the mistake may be traced to that overweening prejudice in favour of the laws, constitution and tenures of the Mother Country which induces most Englishmen to desire their extension over the world at large and which renders them anxious to find excuses or arguments for any acknowledged legal absurdity in their own laws by the detection of real or assumed similarities in the legislative systems of other countries."

APPENDIX Y

SOME OPINIONS OF ANGLO-INDIANS IN INDIA

"He would be a bold man," said Sir J. H. Stedman Cotton, in "The New India," "who would unhesitatingly affirm that the people of India are friendly to the British Government. . . . They are loyal in that they appreciate the advantages of British rule, and are grateful to the British Government for the benefits which have been conferred upon them. If this constitutes loyalty they are loyal . . . if it is disloyalty to attempt to wring concessions from the government by all fair means within their power, they are disloyal . . . they tolerate the existence of our government as an irrevocable necessity, but which they are determined to modify . . . it is a grave symptom that the official body in India has now succumbed as completely as the non-

official to anti-native prejudices . . . if there is any increase of dislike between the two races I must place on record my conviction that the people of India are not responsible for this aggravation of sentiment."

Writing of the India Office, General Moore O'Creagh, formerly Commander-in-Chief in India, says: "It is out of touch with India, which it cannot rule according to Indian ideas, because it knows too little of India. Its army of clerks are a ruinously expensive incubus on the Indian Empire, which if not removed, will drag it to the depths. Above all, it is quite incapable of satisfactorily administering the Indian army efficiently."

An Indian Civil Servant, replying to the suggestion that Brahman influence in India is waning, says: "I do not think you would find many people who know India to say so. But the fact is that if you ask an Indian official anything about India, he automatically excludes places like Calcutta and Bombay from his answer, considering them as more extensions of England than part of India. But the British publicist looks on Calcutta as part of India perhaps with some reason, and says what is happening in Calcutta is happening in India. I saw the other day that somebody said that caste was breaking down, and that he had been for a motor drive with an orthodox Hindu and his wife. I suppose that might happen in Calcutta, but it is incredible in rural Bengal. I have been for thirty years in India and except in Calcutta have never seen the face of an Indian lady. Caste and submission to Brahmans throughout 999/1000ths of India is not breaking down in the least, I believe. There is an extraordinary amount of contempt for their evilness, especially for that of the temple Brahmans, but it does not seem to affect the people's submission to them. Nor does the existence of the Mussulmans, who are without caste, affect the power of caste. The whole point of caste is that you are not affected by what people outside your caste do. And the seclusion of women, which is a buttress of Brahmanism, is of course fostered by Islam. A Begum must be a Muslim, and some, especially the Begum of Jhansi in the Mutiny, have forced their way out."

"The day is yet distant," said Thornton in 1833, "when the institutions of India can be assimilated to those of Great Britain, and a premature clamour for such an assimilation would in India be dangerous in the extreme." In those days it was always assumed that the whole world would some day imitate the social forms of Europe. To-day we appear to be moving, if we change at all, towards the social system of the East.

"The Hindoos," says Keene ("History of India," anno 1708, p. 277), "have in general parlance become known as 'mild,' and—so far as a lack of energy and enterprise, engendered by a hot climate and a vegetable diet, may go—the epithet is not undeserved. But they are suspicious, reserved and tenacious; worshippers of jealous gods. Such a people, if once a general panic of alarm as to the good faith of their rulers arises, are liable to become truly irreconcilable."

Orme ("History of Hindostan," p. 25) says of the Moslems: "It is rare to see in the remote fields or villages a Moslem employed in anything except levying contributions or acting in some other respect as an officer of the Great Mogul."

"It has been observed," says Orme, "that all the Mohammedans

established in India acquire in the third generation the indolence and pusillanimity of the original inhabitants, and at the same time a cruelty of character to which the Indians are at present happily strangers."

Sir Henry Wilson, in May 1922, at a meeting presided over by the Duke of Northumberland, speaking of our Eastern possessions, condemned the British Government for its policy in regard to Mesopotamia and Egypt, expressing regret that it appeared to have been backing the Greeks against the Turks. *Without a friendly Turkey he believed we should have difficulty in remaining in Egypt, in India, or in Mesopotamia.* At the same time the American Near East Relief Commission, in a report precise, definite, and in many cases based on personal observation, charged the most frightful atrocities by the Turks on the women and children of the Greek and Armenian populations. (This was written long before the burning and massacres at Smyrna.)

NOTES

Introduction: (1) Benedict of Peterboro'. (2) The Legislative Assembly at Delhi in March 1921 accepted resolutions the object of which were to assert the principle that the purpose of the Indian army was to meet the requirements of the defence of India, and that India should not be saddled with greater military burdens made necessary by imperial policy. Also that the Indian army should not be employed outside India except in grave emergency. (3) I do not ignore the fact that a number of valuable monographic works are from time to time published in some special district of our possessions, or for some short period of our history; but they are in price out of reach of students, and our imperial Peter Parley has not come forward. (4) Writing in 1922 of the "old familiar cry of Anarchy without the British" in India, an Anglo-Indian writer says: "The Anglo-Indian bureaucrat who, till now, has never been called to account by those over whom he rules, naturally thinks his irresponsibility essential for the security of the country, and damns as anarchy any sign of independence among the people, or any encroachment on his authority." This writer, quoting from a review, continues: "Anarchy is only one of the dangers, and a political system which takes account of only one danger, and sets to work to achieve perfect security against that one, is disastrous. A little anarchy may be preferable to a great deal of despotism. The pursuit of complete security is a snare into which fall only the narrow-visioned. Societies, like individuals, must run risks if they are to achieve anything valuable, and the risk of anarchy is worth running for the sake of liberty." That is the ideal of communism. But it is difficult to see how it can be reconciled with complicated commercial relations. (5) Writing of our Indian policy, for example, Sir John Stedman Cotton, an Indian Civil Servant of the third generation, points to the danger of such a conclusion in *The New India* (p. 82): "There is no great harm in saying that the land belongs to the State when the State is only another name for the people. But it is very different when the State is represented by a small minority of foreigners, who disburse nearly one-third of the revenues received from the land on the remuneration of their own servants, and who have no abiding-place in the soil and no stake in the country. It is because we have acted on this principle all over India, with the exception of the permanently settled districts, that we have reduced the agricultural classes to such poverty." It is this want of knowledge of the social conditions outside Western Europe which handicaps us in our dealings with our imperial possessions, equally whether in Asia or Africa. **Chapter I:** (1) Writing from

Malacca on June 10, 1811, Raffles describes similar conditions in the Malay States, as the causes which had most tended to bring about the depression of the Malays and the degeneration of their character. These were, he thought, the civil commotions to which every State was liable from the radical want of strength in the sovereign, and the constant wars between the petty chieftains and heads of villages and districts; the ill-defined succession to the throne; the prevalence of piracy; the system of domestic slavery, with all its concomitant evils, and wars for the purpose of securing slaves, etc. In this case the "Danes" were the Portuguese, Dutch, and English.—*Life of Sir T. Stamford Raffles*, by J. A. Bethune Cook. (2) Recently translated by Dr. Jon Stefannson of Iceland. **Chapter II:** (1) Until the knowledge of the trade winds and monsoons, and the perfection of the compass, enabled the sailor to lose sight of the land, the early European seamen, with the exception of the Norsemen, clung to the shore, creeping from headland to headland, with an eye to hidden rocks and storms and lurking pirates. When the trade winds were discovered, the ships waited for them, or if their voyages were made when these winds were not blowing, they sailed by the land. When winter came the ships were laid up. The magnetic power of iron was well known to the ancients. But it was a very long time before repeated experiments had taught the Western peoples how it could be safely fixed so as to point steadily to the true north. In the meanwhile the only instrument which gave direction to the sailor was the astrolabe and backstaff, a circle with a graduated scale provided with an index which could be moved until the required star shone through holes in each of two uprights fixed at both ends of a bar. Then by calculation he could get a rough latitude. Calculating longitude waited for the chronometer in 1736. The Norsemen sailed the North Sea and the Baltic and the Atlantic without the help of these inventions. (2) Hannay (*The Sea Trader*) says of the early seamen: "When 'making the land' he lay to at night, and by day he went slowly; yet, however cautious he might be, he ran risks unknown to the modern seaman. Take an Admiralty chart—say No. 1053, which shows the Spanish coast from Finisterre to Bayona—and note the jagged line of rocky islands, reefs, shoals, and cliffs. Remember that the westerly and south-westerly gales blew for weeks together on the shore, and set up a current which carried ships to all those perils. Remember, too, that the square courses which constituted the whole spread of sail of ancient and mediaeval ships were all but useless for the purpose of working to windward, while the sweeps and oars could make no head against the combined force of wind and current." When the sailor found himself on such a coast with contrary winds he made for the nearest harbour and spent the winter there. (3) The heavy wooden masts, the weight and size of all the materials for rigging and rowing, called for large crews, which meant in the small and weak ships much space for men, and little room for provisions or water. This in its turn made frequent stops necessary for the laying in of food. As a consequence the merchant ship was built with a view to room and not to speed. As a very late example of a long sea voyage the Chinese junk *Keying* from Canton to Gravesend *via* the Cape of Good Hope, in 1848, took 477 days on her voyage. The

great junks of China are mentioned both by Ibn Batuta and Marco Polo. Undoubtedly the art of shipbuilding was much further advanced in the East than in the West in early times. A very interesting account of a voyage in a Malayan prau from Macassar to Aru is given by A. R. Wallace in *The Malay Archipelago.* On this ground alone, if we had not records which make the voyages a certainty, the colonisation by the Northmen of Iceland, Greenland, and other lands would be incredible. (4) Kingsley, *West African Studies,* p. 49. (5) Hakluyt Society, vol. 71, p. 230 *et seq.* **Chapter III:** (1) Rolls Series, vol. 88, iii. p. 152 *et seq.* **Chapter IV:** (1) The fall of Acre, by which control of the trade routes was lost, in 1291, may be said to signalise their final close. Genghis Khan took Pekin in 1213. The Mohammedans began to conquer India from the North about 1300. (2) At the present day, in all our dealings with any part of the East from the Arabian Hedjaz to remotest China, although a number of different races, as in India, may from evident self-interest concede rule as overlord to one MAN alien to all of them, if they are convinced that his rule is just or beneficial, no one people of them will submit to the domination of a man from another people living among them. Such a man can only be accepted when he represents some form of religious belief, combined with active physical superiority in war, as Mohammed. *A fortiori,* no man of them will ever submit to the domination of an alien PEOPLE from outside. Any scant respect received by the Western politician from the Eastern peoples, for whom he imagines that he is making free constitutions, only comes to him as the representative of the king-emperor (3) The code of Justinian, which one of our English ministers contrasted to such advantage with what he called the "new system," the features of the ancient communal society adopted by the Russian Soviet. **Chapter V:** (1) The best accounts of this society open to people who, like myself, have no knowledge of the Russian language are, I think, to be found in Kovalevsky's *Laws and Customs of Russia* and Wallace's account of the Mir in his *Russia.* Up to 1861 agriculture was carried on by the whole village. The land was held in common. They did not raise grain for export, but only for use. The free villages paying taxes to the Czar gradually became the property of the Czar and his nobles paying rent. According to the views of the Pan-Sclavonian party, which arose in 1861, the nations of Western Europe committed a fatal blunder by allowing the land to become the object of individual right of property, which was established first by the formation of a feudal aristocracy and by the revival of Roman law. (2) A. L., *Ireland,* v. 105. (3) *Sverri Saga,* by J. Sephton, p. 104. 1899. (4) *Y.B.* 3 *Edw. III,* Statham's abridgement. (5) *E.g.* Edward III in 1329 borrowed 5000 marks from the Bardi of Florence, and "presented" them with £2000 sterling.

(6) Non est meam, si mugeat Africis
Malus procellis, ad miseras preces
Decurrere, et votis pacisci
  Ne Cypriae Tyriaeque merces
Addant avaro divitias mari.

HORACE, *Odes.* iii, 29, 57, *et seq.*

Read it in Dryden's paraphrase of the Ode, one of the most magnificent poems in the English language: *e.g.*

What is't to me,
Who never sail in her unfaithful sea,
If storms arise and clouds grow black;
If the mast splits and threatens wrack?
Then let the greedy merchant fear
For his ill-gotten gain,
And pray to gods that will not hear,
While the debating winds and billows bear
His wealth unto the main.

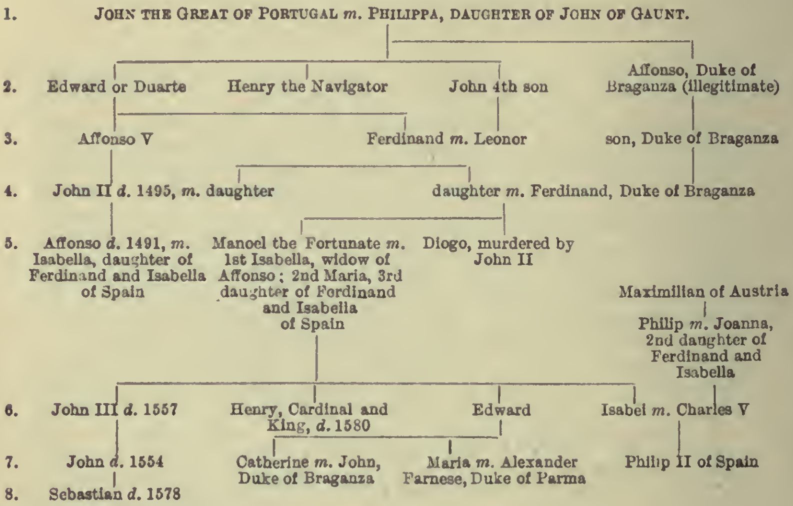
Chapter VI: (1) *Archaeol. Æliana*, vol. 16, p. 52. (2) In 1114, says the Comte de Beugnot, in the preface to his edition of the *Assizes of Jerusalem*, Baldwin III, Count of Hainault, giving a charter to the inhabitants of Valenciennes, set up two courts, similar to those of Jerusalem. The usual treatment of the Assizes of Jerusalem by our historians is an example of that remarkable fallacy that until a body of law which has been growing for a long period is finally written down, it can never have existed: the lateness of the surviving manuscript being taken as final evidence of the late date of the laws. (3) These chapters are published by Pardessus, in his *Lois Maritimes*, tit. 1, p. 275, and see his historical introduction. (4) Speaking of the extensive trade of Alexandria, Benjamin of Tudela (1160–1173) says: "for the greater conveniency of carrying on their dealings, every nation has its factory by itself." Among the traders he mentions the English. (5) Ducange's definition of the fonde is "Locum publicum in quem mercatores de rebus suis et commerciis in vicem acturi, quod in eo deponatur communis eorum thesaurus vel pecunia ad eadem commercia, atque adeo merces ipsae." (6) See note on p. 573 of Victor Foucher's *Burgess Court*, line 13 *et seq.* (7) *Archaeol. Æliana*, iv. p. 52. (8) Madox, *Hist. of Exch.*, chap. xi. (9) As to Welsh boroughs, see *Cal. P.R.*, 1307–13, p. 525. **Chapter VII**: (1) Frequently quoted. I have not verified the quotation. (2) In 1269, owing to the complaints of bad weight, the beam and steelyard of the Easterlings, as they were called, were publicly burned in Eastcheap, and they were compelled to weigh on the public steelyard. (3) 35 Edw. III. Anyone to be at liberty to buy herrings at Yarmouth fair. The municipal authority had started a ring to raise the price. **Chapter VIII**: (1) 1 Sam. xvii. 7. (2) Assize of Measures, 1197. (3) For examples dealing with this question I quote the following: Licence at Lincoln to John Kempe of Flanders in 1331 to practise and teach his trade in England (R. ii. 823); a proclamation of protection in 1332 and 1334 for weavers and manufacturers of cloth of whatever country (R. iii. 123); protection for William and Hanchin, weavers of Brabant, in 1336, coming to exercise their trade in York (R. ii. 904); and in 1337 for fifteen cloth-workers of Zealand (R. ii. 969). In 1339 a licence is given to certain burgesses of Bristol to construct machines and make woollen cloth (R. ii. 1098). (4) See Frost's notices relative to the early history of Hull. (5) Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Prologue, 390, 398, 406. (6) On April 23, 1374, there is recorded a grant of a

pitcher of wine daily to Geoffrey Chaucer, the king's esquire at Windsor, and in 1398 a cask of wine annually (R. iii. p. ii. 1001). (7) *Rot. Vasc.* 6 Edw. III, m. 7; 28 Edw. III, m. 8. *C.S.P.*, vol. vi. pp. 99, 100, and *C.S.P.*, *Ireland*, vol. 30, No. 104. (8) See De Lisle, *La Classe Agricole et Agriculture en Normandie au moyen age*, ch. 15. (9) See Froissart, *anno* 1393. (10) R. iii. pt. 1, 194. (11) *Rot. Parl.* ii. 42, 274–5; iii. 102, 461. (12) R. vii. 373.

(13) 1 Hogshead	equals	63	gallons
1 Pipe	„	126	„
1 Tun	„	252	„

(14) 6 *Rot. Vasc.* 28 Edw. III, m. 7 and 8. (15) R. iii. pt. 1, 466. (16) R. ii. 808. (17) See *Pat. Rolls*, 6 John, vol. i. pt. 2, 45, col. 2; and 15 John, vol. i. pt. 1, p. 113, cols. 1 and 2. (18) Matt. Paris, 1254. (19) See Walsingham, Nicholas Trivet, Peter de Langtoft, Liber Customarum, etc. etc. (20) They prefer the wines of Bergerac, Froissart i. 184, edit. Buchon. Bergerac will send its wines to be shipped from Bordeaux to get its privileges, if Bordeaux does not put on an octroi. (21) Houard. (22) R. iii. 206. **Chapter X.**: (1) Cabral, for instance, going out in 1500 with thirteen ships, returned with six only; Vasco da Gama loses more than half his men. (2) The small size of the ships and the amount of room necessary to be preserved for food and water forbade any trading in goods of large bulk, except in slaves who might assist the crew. The necessity for greater space for bulky goods as the trade grew, probably accounts for the building of very large, not always seaworthy, ships by the Portuguese. The fertile belt between the coast and the great Sahara desert was but a shallow one. Of the French trade at Goree and Senegal and on the Gold Coast in the seventeenth century hides were the main bulk. Casks of brandy and bars of iron, firearms and gunpowder, cloths and Venetian glass beads, were exchanged for slaves, gold dust, ivory, beeswax, hides, gum arabic, and ostrich feathers. The Dutch brought carpets, pans, and stuffs. (3) Hakluyt Society, vol. 99. Edited by E. G. Ravenstein, 1898. (4) November 1921, I read in the papers that a German-Spanish commercial organisation for flying the Atlantic is contemplated which will follow practically the line of the route laid down more than four centuries ago by the Portuguese to Brazil. (5) Amerigo Vespucci, who fell in with the remains of Cabral's fleet on it way back, gives some account of the wealth of the East which the Portuguese were bringing to Europe—cinnamon, ginger, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, mace, musk, civet, borax, benzoin, porcelain, cassia, mastic, incense, myrrh, sandalwood, aloes, camphor, amber, canna, lac, thuja, opium, etc. etc. Of jewels, many diamonds, rubies, and pearls. See Pepys's *Diary* under date. (6) The danger was fully seen by Almeida, who wrote urging King Manoel to remain content with the command of the sea (quoted in Hunter, *History of British India*, vol. i. p. 118, and note 1, p. 119). "Let all our forces be on the sea; because if we should not be powerful at sea (which may the Lord forbid) everything will at once be against us. Let it be known for certain," he says, "that as long as you may be powerful at sea you will hold India as yours; and if you do not possess this power,

little will avail you a fortress on shore." **Chapter XI:** (1) It was the same old question which led to the wars of Edward III in France and the wars of the three Joans: which had the first right of succession —the daughter of an elder son, Catherine of Braganza, or the son of a younger daughter, Philip II? As there was no Salic law in Portugal, the daughter of the son would appear to have had the better title. The following pedigree of the House of Aviz shows the state of the case:



Chapter XII: (1) *E.g.* De Renneville, speaking of the Cape Verde Islands, says: "When the Portuguese discovered these islands they were all desert and uninhabited; but now they afford plenty of rice, mill, Tartarian wheat, oranges, lemons, currants, bananas, melons, cucumbers, pumpkins, and several other sorts of fruits, figs, grapes, and plenty of cattle and goats. (2) Hakluyt says of the Madre de Dios: "The greatness of the steerage requiring the labour of twelve or fourteen men at once." (3) "Foreign Impressions of the Fleet, 1466–1622," by G. E. Mainwaring, *United Service Magazine*, p. 51. (4) *C.S.P.*, *Simancas*, 1568–79, No. 102. **Chapter XIII:** (1) Just as to-day we use Lascars and other aliens for our merchant ships. (2) Lindsay, *Merchant Shipping*, ii. 112. (3) Bor, bk. 9, quoted in Davies' *History of Holland.* (4) Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, vol. ii. (5) Danvers, ii. 307. (6) Cinnamon and elephant hunting were royal rights. The principles of the assessment of the Portuguese imperial taxes in Ceylon were as follows: (Danvers, ii. 157, *anno* 1612 and 1613) The land tax was calculated at 12 per cent. of the gross produce, one-third to be paid in pepper, two-thirds in money. In addition, the tenant of each holding appraised at fifty pardaos (say £10) to have a musket for the service of the State, and under

a hundred pardaos a gun and bow and arrows. For every additional pardaos a gun and a bow. Pepper trees to be cultivated under pain of loss of tenancy. Quarries to be worked under inspection for four months, stones taxed according to their weight and value. Potters to pay a tax and make tiles for the State. Also a death tax, an ancient right, one-third of the present property of the dead. Imports and exports paid a customs duty of 7 per cent. *ad valorem.* **Chapter XIV:** (1) *C.S.P., For. & Dom.*, vol. iv. pt. 3. 6155. (2) Hakluyt Society, vol. 20. (3) Quoted Hakluyt Society, vol. 73, p. 206 *et seq.* The whole is well worth perusal as showing the relations of trade between Russia, England, Spain, Portugal, and Holland. (4) Quoted Hakluyt Society, No. 72, p. cviii. **Chapter XV:** Hakluyt Society, vol. 50, edited by R. H. Major. (2) Rymer's *Fœdera*, 5, iv. 89; Hakluyt, iii. p. 4. (3) All the facts relating to these voyages are uncertain and disputed. Sebastian Cabot, the son of John, made claims as being the first discoverer. He passed back and forth between the service of Spain and England. He had undoubtedly had a good deal to do with Willoughby's expedition to the North-East in 1553. The disputed matter is very fully discussed, with a very strong bias against the claims of Sebastian, by Henry Harrisse in *John Cabot, the Discoverer of America.* B. F. Stevens, 1896. (4) Sir Humphrey Gilbert speaks of their establishments at the Ile de Sable. **Chapter XVI:** (1) The great authority for the Conquest is Bernal Diaz, one of the conquerors who took part not only in Cortes' expedition but in both of those which preceded it. The edition here used is the translation by M. Keatinge in 1800. (2) Large bows and arrows, lances, two-headed swords, darts and slings. Bernal Diaz. (3) There is considerable difficulty in reaching any safe conclusions on this question. The conquerors did not come in contact with the law invoking the absolute authority of the emperor. Soldier writers such as Bernal Diaz make no mention of legal affairs, and the ecclesiastics who wrote are not to be trusted in such matters any more than the monastic chroniclers of England and their followers. (4) The Spaniards were not the only or the greatest sinners in this respect. We have sometimes committed similar evil acts in the East. I quote an example from the report of Mr. Chisholm Anstey in 1857. Cochin came into British hands from the Dutch in 1796. In 1806 the British feared that it might be given back to the Dutch, so in their fear, says Mr. Anstey, they ordered the destruction of the "stupendous quays . . . the magnificent warehouses of the Dutch East India Company." The cathedral in which Vasco da Gama had been buried, the public buildings, fortifications, and private houses were thoroughly destroyed. "One can trace out the ruins for a mile square from the sea, even beneath the forest growth and herbage." "And lastly," continues Mr. Anstey, "the Cochin policy of the Company is of a piece with their Carnatic policy. Where are the 50,000 stupendous tanks which once irrigated the then fertile but now famine-stricken Carnatic, so near a neighbour to this place? All ruined, dry, choked up." We have done a great deal to repair the mischief since that day. (5) Bernal Diaz says that he saw piles of skulls placed at one town in such a way that it was possible to count them, and he counted 100,000. **Chapter XVII:** (1) It is not easy to express in language the difficulties of transport

which had to be met by the conquerors in Mexico on their way from the sea coast to the city, or the obstacles to their conquest of the country towards the Pacific coast. The railway from Mexico city to Vera Cruz was only opened in 1873. Geo. G. Chisholm, in his *Commercial Geography* (edit. 1908), says of the difficulties of communication: "Not many years ago travellers bound from the capital to Acapulco on the Pacific coast were known to proceed first to Vera Cruz, thence by sea to New York, from New York to San Francisco, and thence again by sea to Acapulco rather than attempt the land journey of 300 miles." Mexico city itself at a height of about 7000 feet lies in a basin surrounded by huge mountains. (2) Speaking on another occasion of the exaggerations of the ecclesiastical historian Gomara, Diaz says, "Where he has written 30,000 we should read 1000." (3) The allies of the European, whether East or West, seldom receive adequate mention in the histories. Yet Cortes could no more have been successful without their help than could the British without them have won their victories in India or quelled the Mutiny in 1857.
Chapter XVIII: (1) Ondegardo, *Rel. Prim. MS.*, quoted by Prescott. (2) Quoted Prescott's *Peru*, bk. 1, chap. v., and App. 4. (3) On the coast of Peru, says Dampier, the winds blow southerly all the year. So ships going to the south must go to the westward until they get out of this wind and into the trade winds. Of this the Spaniards, who clung to the coast, were probably not aware. (4) Query "thirteen." (5) For the account of the Conquest to the death of Atahualpa, see *Reports of the Discovery of Peru*, Xeres and Astete, Hakluyt Society, 1872, No. 47. (6) G. de la Vega, Part 2, Lib. 1, c. 38, p. 51. (7) See *Expeditions in the Valley of the Amazon*, Hakluyt Society, 1859, No. 24. (8) I recommend the perusal of the *Journals of Father Samuel Fritz*, Hakluyt Society, 1922. (9) There is a good account in *The Sea Trader, His Friends and Enemies*, by David Hannay, pp. 200, 219, 220 *et seq.*, 1912. The difficulties in the way are expressed by Father Samuel Fritz, who after disturbances among the natives which he could not quell, for which soldiers had been sent, suggests that visits of soldiers should be sent from time to time "in order to retain in subjection the Indians already converted; but at the same time I beg him to provide that the soldiers come with their wages paid from the Royal Treasury, so that they should not attempt to carry off natives for their service, in payment for the toil that they have in these duties." (10) And see *The Conquest of New Granada. A Life of Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada*, by R. B. Cunninghame Graham, 1922.
Chapter XIX: (1) Hunter (*British India*, vol. i.) says of the Dutch in the East that they created "a colonial system which for frank indifference to human suffering stands out in the history of European settlement across the sea." But he goes on to say, neither Spain nor Portugal, with their record of blood, in the Western and Eastern worlds, nor England with her subsequent slave traffic, can afford to cast stones. (2) In 1922 the French and their black troops have allied themselves with the polygamous Moslem Turk, who has behind him since he issued from his Kurdish mountains a continuous and infamous record of butchery of the Christian peoples, as against the monogamous Christian Greek who speaks the language of the world's greatest literature, to whom we are indebted for all our arts and

sciences. Yet Europe owes its superiority over other continents solely to Christianity and the monogamy which issued from it, and loses that superiority as the two sources are neglected. So far from it being against our interest to support the Christian in the Near East at the present day against the unspeakable Turk, we can expect no respect from the Moslems of our Empire who have suffered his tyranny through the ages, if we desert the European peoples of our own religion, as did the French and the Venetians in the thirteenth century. (3) At the time of the Crusades and for long after, Europe did not experience the full effects of monogamy in resisting the break-up of empire. There were still too many candidates for a throne, owing to the subdivision of the territories among children. In the mediaeval society outside Rome, whether East or West, primogeniture did not come into play fully for a long time. **Chapter XX**: (1) Hakluyt Society, vol. 20. (2) Wheaton, pp. 620, 632; and Rep. 332; Rob. i. 192. (3) See for these voyages *A Collection of Voyages by the Dutch East India Company*, by R. A. C. de Renneville, translated anonymously 1703, with historical introduction by translator. **Chapter XXI**: (1) Edited by Sir George Birdwood, 1893, quoted as *Letter Book*. (2) *Letter Book*, p. 26. (3) *Ibid.*, p. 26. (4) *C.S.P.*, *East Indies*, 1622, 24, pp. 511, 527. (5) *Letter Book*, p. 156. (6) *Ibid.*, pp. 138–147. (7) *Ibid.*, p. 35. (8) *Ibid.*, pp. 312–314. (9) *Ibid.*, p. 415. **Chapter XXII**: (1) *Letter Book*, p. 210. *Ibid.*, p. 35. *Ibid.*, p. 148–149. (2) De Renneville, translated 1703. (3) *C.S.P.*, *East Indies*, 1613–1616, para. 957, 966. (4) See Hunter's *History of India*, chapter x., quoting a pamphlet, *A True Relation*, etc., and *C.S.P.*, *East Indies*, 1622–1624, par. 620. (5) The account given in H. G. Keene's *History of Hindostan* (1885) of this affair is: "Jehangir had lately sent orders to his officers at Gujerat to operate against the Portuguese who had been committing piratical acts against native commerce. Attacked at the same time by the ships of the English the Portuguese were forced to submit and solicit the protection of Maccrab Khan, the Imperial Governor." (And see Hakluyt Society, vol. 56.) (6) *C.S.P.*, *East Indies*, 1625–1629, Nos. 633, 635, 648, etc. **Chapter XXIII**: (1) Translated by J. Leyden and W. Erskine, 1826, and R. M. Caldecott, 1844. (2) *Memoirs of Babar*, p. liii, Leyden and Erskine. (3) In Ferghana itself, Abulfeda, writing at the beginning of the fourteenth century, mentions that they use black stones which burn like charcoal and give out an intense heat. (4) In a letter to the Proprietors of the East India Co.'s stock in 1764 by Lord Clive, he says, speaking of the Great Mogul, "It may be said that there is such a prince, but he is almost without territory or power; the little he possesses, not being equal in extent or riches to one-twentieth part of his dominions, and therefore unable to enforce in those provinces any authority that might have formerly belonged to him; and he is now so far reduced as to be a captive and in the hands of his Sowbahs." (5) Shah Jehan had a strong prejudice against Christians, and the empress, the lady of the Taj, who died in 1631, the year of the Hugli massacre, was bitterly opposed to them, for two of her daughters had become Christians. About the same time Shah Jehan destroyed seventy-six temples erected by the Hindoos at Benares. **Chapter XXIV**: (1) See *C.S.P.*, *East Indies*, 1617–1621, No. 412; 1623, Nos. 146, 415; and 1625, No. 716. (2) Bruce's

Annals, i. 183. (3) In April 1671 the desperate debts owing to the Company were £65,542 17*s*. 2*d*. Old Records of the East India Co., edited by Birdwood. (4) The transactions of the Company as shown in *C.S.P., East Indies*, 1630–1634, No. 610, express the conditions under this system. Reporting in October 1634 the arrival of a ship the governor tells that after three or four days' dispute the Committees still differ in opinion to whom the goods belong. Their great debt in India, say the Aldermen, is £100,000, but which of these voyages owes it no man can tell; the cause of these intricacies chiefly through the hand of God, and the mortality of so many of their factors and servants by means whereof their affairs have fallen into the hands of an undeserving man (?who) who hath brought this confusion. On valuation of the voyages they value the first voyage to Persia at £160, the second at £180, and the third at £140, and whereas the adventurers in the first voyage have already received their principal and 40 per cent. profit, and in the second voyage their principal and 50 per cent. profit, the third is now ordered to receive their principal, the remains and profits of the said voyages are only for the second 20 per cent., for the first 30 per cent., and 40 per cent. for the third. So hopeless was the muddle that (No. 622) "divers on the *Exchange* gave it out that doubtless it was the finger of God that directed the Court to fall on this way, for otherwise it was impossible so to order the equal distribution of the goods brought home in the *Exchange* and *Mary* to the right proprietors." Later in these Minutes we meet with the following, which give us a short view of the Company's responsibilities. "The wife of Henry Stout, mate in the *Hopewell*, deceased, to be paid £22 at the rate of 2*s*. per pound, in satisfaction of a quantity of quicksilver seized and sold at his death at Masulipatam, for the Friday next come sennight appointed for a Court of Sales 4 hogsheads of cloves brought home as private trade sold to Alderman Garvaie at the same price as the last parcel to Captan Crispe. Bills of Edmund Chambers, Master of their barge, for £4 10*s*. for carrying down the Committees several times to Erith and back for discharging the *Mary* to be paid. Gratuity of 10*s*. a piece out of the poor box to Anne, widow of Derrick Curtis, Joyce Candler, widow, and Mary, widow of Thomas Whitfield." (5) *C.S.P., East Indies*, 1630–1634, p. xvi. (6) The Company's account to Parliament in 1621 of their trade to the East shows that from 1600 to 1621 they had sent out 86 ships. Of these 36 came home safe, 9 were lost, 5 were worn out by long service from port to port, 11 were captured by the Dutch, 25 do remain in India or on their homeward passage. (7) A few extracts from Pepys's *Diary* may give some idea of the kind of "Parliament men" with whom the Company had to deal. "We were in hopes to have had a vote this day in our favour; but my speech being so long, many had gone out to dinner and come in again half drunk." "He tells me that he thanks God that he never knew what it was to be tempted to be a knave in his life till he did come into the House of Commons, where there is nothing done but by passion and faction and private interest." "Mr. Hill told me of an offer of £500 for a baronet's dignity, which I told my Lord of, and he said he would think of it." "He instanced in the business of money, he do believe that half of the money the Parliament gives the King is not so much as gathered." "There are not

two seamen in the Parliament House, and not above 20 or 30 merchants; which is a strange thing in an island, and no wonder that things of trade go no better or are better understood." "Sir Martin Noell told us the dispute between him, as farmer of the Additional Duty, and the East India Company, whether callico be linnen or no; which he says it is, having been ever esteemed so: they say it is made of cotton woole, and grows upon trees, not like flax or hemp. But it was carried against the Company to their great loss." (8) From the Black Books of the Company of the errors and misdemeanours of their servants, quoted by Birdwood, Report, p. 216: "Francis Day blamed to bee the first projector of the forte of St. George, the work begunne by Francis Day and paid for out of the Company's cash." This it is to be an empire builder other than by acts of plunder or violence on other peoples. (9) A *New Account of East India and Persia*, 1672–1681, by John Fryer, M.D., 1698. (10) *A Justification of the Directors of the Dutch East India Company*, 1686, and *An Impartial Vindication of the English East India Company*, 1688, London. **Chapter XXV**: (1) The names of the princes and persons and places of India are spelt and misspelt by the English historians and travellers in such a variety of ways (*e.g.* Marattoes, Maratha, Mahratta; Surajah Dowlah, Siràuju-d daula, Sir Roger Dowler, etc.) that it would appear to be the best course to use the simplest forms without any regard to orthography or cacography of names. I have followed the safe example of Gibbon: "I have preferred the popular name to that obscure diligence which is rarely successful in translating an Oriental into the Roman alphabet." **Chapter XXVI**: (1) "Trusting to some maps sent him from Virginia by a captain of a ship called Smith." (2) The Virginian colonists for their part had also been provided by the English Government with wives. Some time about 1610, at the suggestion of Sir Edwin Sandys, who was at the head of the Company, a shipload of ninety reputable young women—"the maids"—were sent out to become the wives of the colonists; to make homes for them so that they should not be looking back to England as home. Their new husbands were to buy them for one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco, equivalent to about eighty dollars. The scheme succeeded completely. On the arrival of the ship the men came to Jamestown and chose or were chosen by their wives. So complete was the success that sixty more maids were sent out, leading to a great increase of new immigrants to a popular colony. In strong contrast to these efforts of French and English to encourage married white settlers, the servants of the East India Company lived to a great extent openly in concubinage with the women of the East. **Chapter XXVII**: (1) *Histoire de la Marine Française*, quoted by Mahan, *Sea Power in History*, p. 280. (2) As examples of these awful happenings, the Indians in the presence of the mother stabbed and cut the throats of three of her children in bed, and on a girl of eight escaping to the mother, they tomahawked her in the mother's arms; a settler's house was burnt and four children were hung on the trees and shot to death; a boy was made to collect dry wood, which was then piled round a tree to which he was tied. The wood was set on fire and the boy had to run back and forth until he died in torment.

(3) *E.g.*, when Meer Jaffier was forced to resign in favour of his son Meer Cassim, the British paid for their services out of the rents granted to them by Meer Cassim of Burdwan, Chittagong, and Midnapore. (4) In a recent history of these days of the eighteenth century, the writer, speaking of the universal corruption, says: "The unpleasant details of the period may be passed over in a work like this." Such a point of view is responsible for much evil. An Empire founded on "I thank God I am not as other men are" goes down in the dust when the machine gun fails of ammunition. We hold India by honest impartial rule. **Chapter XXVIII**: (1) "By 1765, certainly so far as Bengal was concerned, the reputation of the English was so bad that no sooner did a European come into one of the native villages than all the shops were immediately locked up, and all the people for their own safety ran away"; from the Memoirs of a gentleman who resided several years in the East Indies, 1744, quoted in E. P. Robinson's *Trade of the East India Company*, p. 70. It is reminiscent of the people of Cornwall in the fourteenth century when the King's Justices came on circuit. It was the influence of British royalty in the Victorian age which altered this. (2) An English barrister recently practising in India told me of an example within the last few years of the strictness with which this rule is still enforced. A Civil Servant, being married, some Parsee friends sent him a wedding present of some silver spoons. He was compelled to return them, though the act might be considered a great insult by the donor. That, and not the machine gun at Amritsar, is our security for Indian rule. (3) Lord Wellesley, writing in July 1800, enumerates the duties of the Company's servants: to dispense justice to millions of people of various languages, manner, usages, and religions; to administer a complicated system of revenue throughout districts equal in extent to some of the most considerable kingdoms of Europe; to maintain civil order in some of the most populous and litigious regions of the world. (4) *Third Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the East India Company*, Appendix No. 73, 1803, p. 394. (5) *C.S.P.*, *East Indies*, 1630–1634, Nos. 316, 319, 467. **Chapter XXIX**: (1) Sir George Campbell expresses it: "In the greater part of the world the right of cultivating particular portions of the earth is rather a privilege than a property; first of a whole people, then of a particular tribe or village community, then of an individual. But it is partitioned off to these individuals as a matter of mutual convenience, not as unconditional property, subject to reversionary interests of the community." (2) Per Sadelyngstanes, J., in *Y.B.* 18, 19 Edw. III. (3) Baden-Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, p. 102. (4) The Patwari, the village accountant, is defined by this authority as the man who keeps the village accounts, forges receipts, procures false evidence in rent cases, and sells his services as a witness in any case where a practical liar is required. (5) Ah, you will say, we must make allowances for race. There could be no such perjury in that wonderful ruling race of Europe, the Anglo-Saxon. Speaking in reference to perjury in the English Courts in 1313–1314 (*The Eyre of Kent*, vol. i. of Year Book Series, Selden Society) Mr. Bolland, the editor, says: "The origination and prosecution of suits that were based upon purely invented facts, and supported by

evidence that was wholly deliberate perjury seems, in the days of which we are speaking, to have ranked almost as a recognised profession. Over and over again in the records we find instances of it. But to say only so much is not to tell, or even to hint at, half the full iniquity of these maintainers of false suits. When they had got a plaintiff well started on his action—a plaintiff who had based his action upon the advice these men had given him, and upon the proofs of evidence which they had laid before him, who had paid them both for advice and evidence—they then calmly went over to the other side, and got fresh fees for their advice and support on behalf of the defendant." Such men were in consequence rigorously excluded from the city where the Eyre was sitting. Such a man found in the city was committed to prison until he had made fine with the king for 100 shillings. Whatever happens to justice the ruler always gets the fees. To carry the practice down to the present day I would refer the reader to chapter iii of Fielding's *Amelia*, and to the strong remarks of the Judge of the Divorce Court in 1921–1922 on the unblushing perjury there practised. (6) Defined as an area of land cultivated or uncultivated, occupied by a community who reside together, the cultivated land held by individuals, and the grazing land in common, all dealings with the land being controlled by the village authority. (7) See *Mem. on the Revenue History of Chittagong*, 1880, by H. J. S. Cotton, Collector and Magistrate. (8) Pointing out that the social aspects of the land tenure system of India are not those of any country of Western Europe, Sir J. S. Cotton says of it in *The New India*: "The system is not a perfect one, but it is the guarantee of social order among the agricultural classes. The normal relations of landlord and tenant rest upon a personal basis, and are *entirely independent of any conception of contract*. Our dealings with the land have been more destructive of all ancient proprietary rights than were the older methods which preceded our own." (9) "To our ideas there is a wide gulf between a robber and a landlord, but not so to a native view. It is wonderful how much in times such as these of the eighteenth century, the robber, the rajah, and the landlord run into one another." (10) Indian Civil Servants themselves differ widely as to the good or evil of government ownership of or in dealings with the land. For instance, contrasting the government estates in India with the native proprietary, Sir J. S. Cotton (*The New India*) says of the lands held directly by the State: "The system has not promoted the cultivation of the country, and the prohibition of subletting has proved fatal to the extension of reclamation—so true is it, that a proprietary tenure, if left in the hands of the people, will always be fruitful, but retained by the government it starves nationalisation." But to what disinterested ruler are we to give up our authority? (11) Manu, ix. 44. (12) See a reference in Sir W. Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. ii, to the Kanoks of Orissa. **Chapter XXX:** (1) Permanence is here used in the sense of a very long view. The Roman emperors after Julius Caesar up to the extinction of the Western Empire were selected, supported, and deposed by the army. Yet under such conditions the Empire, in a steadily increasing condition of weakness and decadence, existed for more than 400 years. It is true that the political autocracy was softened by the Praetorian

law, which, unlike the later Greek codes of Justinian, did not derive its spirit from imperialism, but was democratic, resting on the traditions of the Roman people, and not on the reactionary emperor. (2) The commercial needs of empire lead to collections of merchant law for use among many nations, *e.g.* the Collections of Wisby, L'Ile d'Oleron, of Amalfi, of Rhodes; *cf.* Pardessus. (3) An Indian Civil Servant writes me in 1922, "I see that M. is appointed to see what economies can be effected in India. Further taxation is evidently impossible. Think of that when the average individual taxation direct and indirect is about seven shillings a year." (4) I could also refer to *India, Old and New*, by Sir Valentine Chirol, especially chapter ix, "The Emergence of Mr. Gandhi," and chapter xiii, "Economic Factors."

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